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1 August 1984

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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1 August 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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WRITERS UNION CONGRESS ELECTS LEADERSHIP

Tirana DRITA in Albanian 26 Apr 84 pp 1, 2, 11

[Article: "The Third Congress of the Union of Writers and Artists of Albania Is Carrying on Its Work Successfully"]

[Excerpts] The Congress of the Union of Writers and Artists took up the final item on the agenda: the election of the leading organs of the Union. Comrade Dritero Agolli spoke on behalf of the participants and proposed the membership of the new Steering Committee and Auditing Commission of the Union. The Congress gave its unanimous approval.

The new Steering Committee held its first meeting and elected its leadership, composed of 21 members and the Secretariat of the Union. Dritero Agolli was elected chairman of the Union and Llazar Siliqi, Kujtim Buza, and Feim Ibrahimi were elected secretaries. Andrea Varfi was elected chairman of the Auditing Commission.

The following were elected to the leading organs of the Union of Writers and Artists.

I. Leadership of the Union of Writers and Artists

Chairman	Dritëro Agolli		
Secretaries	Llazar Siliqi	Members	Kristaq Dhamo
	Kujtim Buza		Kristaq Rama
	Feim Ibrahimi		Nasi Lera
Members	Anastas Kondo		Natasha Lako
	Çesk Zadeja		Pirro Mani
	Dalan Shaplo		Sali Shijaku
	Dhimitër Shuteriqi		Shevqet Musaraj
	Fatmir Gjata		Tish Daija
	Foto Stamo		Viktor Gjika
	Ismail Kadare		Zija Çela

II. Steering Committee of the Union

Agim Cerga	Ismail Kadare	Petrit Gurabardhi
Agim Gjakova	Ismail Lulani	Petro Kokushta
Agim Faja	Ibrahim Madhi	Përparim Tomçini
Agim Zajmi	Jakup Mato	Pirro Mani
Agron Xhunga	Josif Papagjoni	Pjetër Marku
Ali Abdihoxxha	Kiço Blushi	Qenam Zeneli
Anastas Kondo	Klemend Kolaneci	Razi Brahimi
Andon Kuqali	Koço Bihiku	Reshat Arbana
Alfred Uçi	Koço Kosta	Robert Përmeti
Arminda Laçe	Kolë Jakova	Ruzhdi Pulaha
Bedri Dedja	Kristaq Dharmo	Sokrat Mosko
Bajram Lapi	Kristaq Rama	Sterjo Spasse
Çesk Zadeja	Ksenofon Dilo	Sulejman Krasniqi
Dalan Shaplo	Kujtim Buza	Sali Shijaku
Dritëro Agolli	Kujtim Laro	Skënder Kamberi
Demir Hyskja	Kristo Kono	Skënder Lako
Dhimitër Shuteriqi	Limos Dizdari	Sotir Capo
Dhimitër Xhuvani	Luftar Pajo	Shevqet Musaraj
Elida Koreshi	Llazar Siliqi	Shpëtim Kushta
Ermir Krantja	Moikom Zeqo	Shpresa Vreto
Esat Oktrova	Mumtaz Dhrami	Teodor Laço
Fatmir Gjata	Musa Vyshka	Tish Daija
Feim Ibrahim	Nexhmedin Zajmi	Thoma Dharmo
Foto Stamo	Nikolla Zoraci	Thoma Simaku
Fuat Dushku	Nasi Lera	Vilson Kilica
Fatos Arapi	Natasha Lako	Vath Koreshi
Fadil Kraja	Ndoc Gjetja	Valentina Balli
Fatmir Haxhiu	Ndue Shyti	Vangjush Saro
Fadil Taga	Odhise Paskali	Viktor Gjika
Gjovalin Loci	Pano Çuka	Xhanfize Keko
Hamit Aliaj	Petra Zoto	Xhevahir Spahiu
Hektor Dule	Petrit Ruka	Zija Cela

III. Auditing Commission

Chairman Andrea Varfi

Members Abdulla Grimci

Eglantina Mandia

Skender Milori

Shaban Haderi

Vehbi Bala

Tonin Harapi

Sander Prisi

Mukades Erebara

CSO: 2100/53

CIVIL DEFENSE EFFORTS OF MEDICAL ACADEMY CITED

East Berlin SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN in German Vol 4 No 3, 1984 (signed to press 5 Mar 84) pp 12-13

[Article by Prof Dr Eberhard Winkelvoss, MD, Magdeburg Medical Academy:
"Medical Protection of the Population--Our Humanist Task; Experiences of the
Education and Training of Our Medical Students"]

[Text] The purpose of every medical action is to recognize dangers to human health and to forestall them through the full use of the physician and his team. In the case of impaired health and diminished capacity, medical activity should seek to uncover the causes and to ensure recovery and thus renewed capacity through suitable measures that correspond to the current level of scientific knowledge. But medical work must also make possible the reintegration of the person into the work process and into society as well as the long-term medical care to maintain the existing capacity and joy of living. The objective criteria named here must be linked with such subjective qualities of the physician as readiness to perform, capacity, untiring engagement for the citizen in need of medical help, scientific approach, candor and honesty. That is how I would like to see medical morality and ethics understood, which I consider to be an unconditional precondition for the medical protection of the population of our country.

Medical Protection of the Population Demands Political Clarity

To be able to guarantee the medical protection of the population, all physicians and colleagues of public health and social well-being of our socialist society must acquire the necessary knowledge, abilities and skills. Only in this way can they do the best possible job of fulfilling their social mission of preserving or restoring health under all conditions. An inseparable component of the social mission is preparation to avert the medical consequences of catastrophes, accidents and other types of dangers.

Our legislation for health, labor, catastrophe and accident protection documents the striving of the socialist state to guard our citizens against harm as the result of human and technical failure. In the case of past dangerous situations with medical consequences, however, the use of the medical forces has already preserved the lives and health of many of our citizens.

The greatest danger now threatening humanity is the unleashing of a war by the most aggressive forces of imperialism. War under the conditions of today's development of weapons technology is an unthinkable catastrophe in its consequences for the people, their environment and our globe. It is therefore socialist policy to be consistent in doing everything possible to prevent a war and everything necessary for peace.

Medical morality and ethics as well as experience and the teachings of history cause our physicians, medical scientists and university teachers to put themselves in the front ranks of those who are raising their voices against nuclear war and the arms buildup and who are taking an active part in the worldwide movement to protect our globe against a nuclear inferno. But we physicians are also asking where the danger to peace originates and who is threatening whom.

This question must be thought through by every medical school graduate, it must be answered from a clear class standpoint, and through his position he must show that he recognizes that socialism and peace, socialism and the full development of the strengths of the economy, science, culture and education for the good of the workers and all citizens of the socialist society represent an indivisible oneness.

Every physician and future head of a medical team must be conscious of the dialectical interaction between a consistent position for maintaining the peace and the necessity for a universally strong socialism and of the interaction between the fervent struggle for peace and one's own contribution to the all-round strengthening and protection of the GDR in the association of the socialist community of nations.

At their scientific-methodological conference on medical studies in Berlin on 3 and 4 February 1984, the university teachers and medical students of all medical areas and academies of the GDR also dealt with this important question. It was again stressed unequivocally here that for every medical student--and they are indeed aware and technically outstanding secondary school graduates--their studies are a social commission to attain the highest professional and sociological results from study as well as professional ethics.

Always Orient Medical Studies Toward Social Practice

For every graduate, medical work is a social commission to safeguard the health care of our citizens with the highest scientific character, efficiency and readiness to perform at all times under all conditions and at all places.

To be able to make this pledge, medical studies are to be oriented to the daily demands of medicine in every respect. That requires great effort on the part of the students to acquire the necessary qualifications and on the part of the professors to impart them and to make the students aware of them.

The medical schools not only equip their future graduates with a means of handling emergency medical situations involving an individual or groups of sick or injured citizens. In the teaching and practical training, they also

impart the knowledge, ability and practical skills for medical aid in the event that catastrophes, accidents and other danger situations result in a number of injured persons. They create the preconditions enabling the physician to act in a responsible and circumspect manner as the commander of civil defense formations in providing medical protection for the population or as the head of medical installations. In fulfilling these tasks, the physician must lead a team to peak performance so as to save the lives of as many as possible, if not all, of the seriously injured, to avoid continuing injury to health through timely and consistent medical assistance, and to restore an operational and performance capability as soon as possible. Through sure command of the simple basic medical life-saving requirements, the physician must thereby motivate every co-worker and every member of the formation, stimulating them to the highest degree of performance readiness.

Threatening emergency situations require of everyone immediately available knowledge and skill, require knowledge of the interrelationships and the ability to strive for the best results through organized cooperation with others in the team. Only through conscious cooperation, competence and readiness is the humanistic concern of civil defense to be realized in accordance with the resolutions of the 10th SED Party Congress. As a medical school graduate, the physician must have already recognized in the process of education and training that the preconditions for positive medical work to eliminate the medical results of catastrophes, accidents and all sorts of dangers come about through the conveying of knowledge and skill in all areas of instruction, through one's own practical training and in everyday medical life.

Special knowledge and skills on the organizational principles and the complex interaction to protect against harmful factors and further effects of the injurious results of catastrophes as well as on coordinated measures of life-saving medical assistance are conveyed in the instructional area military medicine and training is provided by a practical course in the last semester of studies. In this connection, all involved professors in all instruction programs must present the specific material of this area of instruction and the related action duties in close association with the general humanistic mission of all forces of socialist public health. A unity of word and deed must be recognizably demonstrated in the auditorium and working team so that clear class positions are revealed and medical attitudes are formed, training physicians in accordance with our communist view of graduates.

If the wording "all professors" is used here, it is to stress the necessary and permanent availability of every medical colleague, no matter which specialized discipline, which is indispensable in ensuring that life-saving first medical assistance can be given under all conditions. This must be presented to the future physician in all phases of his course of study in a convincing manner and through the good example of his academic instructors.

Regarding Some Experiences of the Practical Course in Medical Civil Defense

The medical protection of the population in the framework of civil defense is a task that is intensively oriented to practical requirements. Therefore, the "Practical Course in Medical Civil Defense" during medical school, which

creates the bases and preconditions for this, can only then live up to its requirements to educate and train when it becomes a true testing ground for students through the greatest possible realism, through practical training, through required physical, mental and medical engagement and through creative self-effort.

Our experience teaches the expediency of putting special emphasis on some particular subjects, among which I would like to point out the following:

- imparting of the principles and abilities of the management and leadership of teams as well as the practical demonstration of this competence in the action of teams under complex conditions;
- command of an effective specific health protection for maintaining the operational and performance capability of all subordinate operating forces;
- training and firm command of the careful medical evacuation of the injured, including with provisional means, following successful first aid;
- demonstration and sure command of the handling and employment of the structural material-medical means for providing first medical assistance in cases of breathing difficulties, bleeding and possible shock, heart and circulatory failure, poisoning and other emergency situations under catastrophe conditions with dependable mastery of the necessary measures;
- knowledge of the maximum allowable concentration of substances affecting health, of the maximum possible operational and exposure times under difficult conditions, and sure command of the resulting management decisions involving work organization for teams and formations in the medical protection of the population;
- command of the special features of diagnostics and of recognizing life-threatening situations and degree of injury with simple means.

In the education and training process during the practical course in medical civil defense, the commander, who is a responsible university-level teacher, and his deputy for training, in cooperation with the instructors and the professors/lecturers brought in for specific subjects, must ensure that the basic knowledge imparted in the instruction areas during theoretical programs is heightened, actively assimilated and transformed into applicable abilities. Under the direction of an experienced medical staff, the students participating in the practice course work out documents for the preparation and execution of operations and their evaluation. They will be actively required to take independent action, to plan and to carry out all partial aspects of the medical help when there are injured under catastrophe conditions. Accordingly, there is long-term coordination of the preparation and execution of the practice course in medical civil defense with respect to content, timing and personnel.

In general, the application of the principle that the student must be fully challenged, actively included and fully used temporally has proven itself. Only then can the education and training goal be attained, only then is the medical school graduate prepared for the demands on a physician in rendering the most effective medical help possible to our citizens in the event of catastrophe, accidents and other dangers.

The granting of a medical license at the conclusion of 6 years of medical studies then includes as a social commissioning of the physician the guaranteeing of scientifically founded medical care of our citizens in the socialist society, and also under the conditions of medical protection in the sphere of civil defense.

WRITER DESCRIBES STALINIST PERSECUTION

Szeged TISZATAJ in Hungarian Jun 84 pp 25-34

[Interview with Erik Majtenyi by Miklos Zelei: "And We Find Out About Horrors"; in Budapest, date not given]

[Text] Erik Majtenyi, a Hungarian writer in Romania, lived in Bucharest. He moved there from Temesvar [Timisoara] where he had been born in September 1922.

We spent our time lavishly when I visited Erik Majtenyi. In summer it was light as late as 9:30 pm. We sat on the terrace like premature ghosts, and Erik talked.

"Once I will bring a tape recorder so that you can record what happened on tape."

Erik remained silent, and then said: "All right. But don't bring it. I would sooner go to your tape recorder."

This is how the plan was born in Bucharest, and the interview taped in Budapest, in the hope that it would continue. In the last years of his life, Erik Majtenyi was coming to Budapest for medical treatment. He died in January 1982, before completing his 60th year. Thus the interview remained unfinished. But even so it offers sketches of an author's very exciting career.

[Question] Erik, you appear several times in the sketches in Janos Szasz's book, "Szobor a hoban" [Statue in the Snow] (Bucharest, Kriterion, 1979). I am interested in the sketch entitled "A Story Without Heroes." Or more accurately, in the other, untold, part of its story. Who was N. who had to be expelled from the Writers' Union? What was Savin Bratu's role in this matter? What was your role? And what was the role of others who might not have been mentioned in Janos Szasz's sketch, "A Story Without Heroes"?

[Answer] In the spring of 1956, in April if I remember correctly, a big scandal broke out: Alexandru Jar had to be expelled, not from the Writers' Union but from the party. Because at a meeting where Gheorghiu Dej also was present he raised the question of who was responsible for the Danube-Black Sea Canal's

wanton construction projects. For the administrative methods employed in cultural life and literature. Incidentally, Alexandru Jar himself was no stranger to administrative methods. But it was the same here in Budapest, too, was it not? Considering that the calendar showed 1956, that Jar had fought against fascism in the French Resistance, for which he was awarded the Legion of Honor, and that his wife had been beheaded in the Nurnberg concentration camp, expulsion was a very stiff sentence. Three of us opposed it: Veronica Porumbacu, Janos Szasz, and myself. Veronica Porumbacu soon withdrew her opinion. Szasz declared that he did not know this person, what Szasz had heard about him was not enough to warrant a vote for expulsion, and therefore Szasz would refrain from voting. Thereupon the assault fire was directed at me, and I was called all kinds of names. As I continued to hold out, Savin Bratu sent me a note in which he wrote: "You are a honest person. The rest of us will be ashamed of ourselves later." The meeting had been going on from 5:00 pm to 5:00 am, and everyone was dead tired when the question was submitted to a vote. They asked me for the last time whether I maintained my standpoint. I answered with a definite Yes, but two minutes later I too raised my hand and voted for expulsion. I don't know why I did. Perhaps Bratu, who was sitting behind me, raised my hand. That is how Janos Szasz saw it. But I do not remember whether this was really so. And it is also possible that the past ten years, not Savin Bratu, raised my hand. After the expulsion, Jar--he lived somewhere near the Triumph Restaurant, roughly in my neighborhood--came to me and requested that I walk him home because he did not dare to go home alone. But before going home, he came to us. Alexandru Jar, the one-time member of the underground, sat sobbing in my study, while in the bedroom I was waking up my wife to brew us some coffee.

The meeting continued three days later because we had voted only on the question of expulsion, but had not drawn any conclusions. I had learned my lesson from the fact that one could just raise his arm without further ado. I typed my speech in one original and three copies. In it I said that we had ridden roughshod over Lenin's principles of party life; I spoke of our party secretary who, in the intermission preceding the voting, had taken me down to the garden of the building and had subjected me to moral pressure; and I resigned as secretary of the Writers' Union. Fourteen persons spoke against me. One of them proposed that I, too, be expelled, but this proposal was shouted down fairly quickly. The next day I received a letter from the Writers' Union advising me to hand in my resignation separately, although it had been included in my speech and I had given copies of it to the Writers' Union and to the delegate from party headquarters. I resigned by letter as well. The Writers' Union paid me my secretary's salary exactly up to the day of the meeting, which was around the middle of the month.

[Question] The moral pressure, which you have mentioned only briefly, is probably a synonym for blackmail by referring to ideals. I would merely like to ask whether the identity of the party secretary is of any interest.

[Answer] It is of interest, very much so. But I must go back in the story to be able to talk about this. Like in a third-rate novel, the entire Jar affair was handled by the same Mihai Novicov whom it would have been good to meet in Iasi after the liberation, had Comrade Novicov, the editor in chief of the local party newspaper, dared to visit me, the deported fascist. In other words,

he was the same Mihai Novicov with whom I had been interned in the same camp during the war, as antifascists. Before the voting, he reminded me of our time together in concentration camp. He said we ought to walk a bit, in the same way we used to walk in camp. And he took me by the arm and led me down to the garden of the Writers' Union building. There he warned me to retract everything, in my own interest. This irritated me and I replied that he should have been concerned about my welfare in 1945.

[Question] What happened in 1945?

[Answer] In my latest book, "Hajoharang a Hold utcaban" [The Ship's Bell in Hold Street] (an autobiographic novel, the edition published in Hungary, Budapest, Magveto, 1977), I wrote about many things. Actually, I wrote everything there was to say. With the exception of a few things that might have kept my book from being published. I see that in our discussion we are coming closer and closer to these few things. I wrote in my book that during the war I was interned in the Tirgu Jiu concentration camp. The night after liberation day, 23 August 1944, a good many of us changed from antifascists into enemy aliens. That day the members of the Iron Cross were freed, the non-Hungarian communists were freed, but the Hungarians were not. They immediately became enemy aliens. And they even increased and multiplied: Sandor Kacso and the leaders of the Hungarian People's Community were added to them. Later, around March 1945 if I remember correctly, some of them were freed. All of them, with my exception, spent six months, or rather another six months and another winter, in concentration camp. Because of my German-sounding name, I was deported to the Soviet Union.

[Question] Was there no screening before the deportation?

[Answer] I knew that a mixed committee of the Romanian Interior Ministry and the Soviet forces came and selected 1,500 Germans, but no one knew why. They were separated, and in the morning of 13 January they were loaded on a train. Evidently they took someone out from among them the last minute, probably because he had bribed the colonel in charge of the camp. And they put me in the group in this person's place. The group was at full strength. The camp commander had slapped me because I was an antifascist, and he was the only one to slap me. And now he sent me as a fascist to the Soviet Union. A good joke, and he did it. At that time the new power was still the Ministry of the Interior, which was under the control of the right wing until the formation of the Groza government. Within this right wing, moreover, our colonel counted as a liberal and a British sympathizer. And he scored good points in conjunction with Gheorghiu Dej's escape, before 23 August 1944. He certainly must have known about it. After Dej and a companion escaped from camp, nobody looked for them the next three days. Later I heard that this colonel was receiving a very nice pension in Bucharest. I hope that by now he too is resting in peace. He would be very old if he were still alive. He used to be a colonel of the gendarmerie. Well, this is how I got to the Soviet Union. The only thing that is not true in my book is that, in conjunction with the Soviet Union, I always say that I was a prisoner of war. That was not captivity, but deportation. I never mention the country by name, but it is easy to guess because I mention that the temperature was -40°C. And then it obviously was not, say, Greece. I worked in and around mines in the Donets Basin. What

happened there? I wrote about many of the things that happened, and there were many things I could not write about to begin with. After all, I did not even admit that I was in the Soviet Union and had been deported there. And if I remained silent about this out of real or imagined compulsion--it will now become clear which it was--then there necessarily were many things I could not write about I do not know of anyone who reported all this in our country. Least of all the Germans. The deportation affected primarily their civilians. I too was deported as a civilian. Because of my surname, Mann. Or not even for that reason. The colonel knew me. He knew very well who I was, and he struck back. It was a skillful straight left. When we arrived in the Soviet Union, I immediately sought out the political officer. He wanted to summon an interpreter. I told him that if he called an interpreter, he would not get a word out of me. For the interpreters were mostly former members of the SS. Who else knew Russian? For a while we made ourselves understood with great difficulty. But in the spring of 1945 I wanted to ask this officer something quite unimportant. I addressed him as Comrade Korsina. To you I am First Lieutenant, and not Comrade Korsina, he said.

At first I was surprised, and then I turned around and left him there in the middle of the camp's yard. This was rather disrespectful of me, but it did not bother him at all. The conditions under which we were living were rather patriarchal. I found out much later why my first lieutenant behaved as he did. But to understand that, I must first tell you a story that must not be published under any circumstances. Namely, the story is so fantastic, like a third-rate novel. It will not stand print. And no one would believe it.

When they were taking us from Tirgu Jiu to the Soviet Union, we had to change to a wide-gage train in Iasi. Before that, we were quartered temporarily in a school building. I did not have an extra pair of socks, a coat, or even decent shoes. At the last moment before departure from the Tirgu Jiu camp, a Hungarian gave me some money; and another one, a piece of bread. Thus for the journey I had a piece of bread and a thousand lei. The price of ten packs of cigarettes at that time. I gave 500 lei to the Romanian soldier who brought us a kettle of beans. I asked him to please deliver a note to Mihai Novicov, the editor in chief of the local party newspaper who had been my party contact and chief librarian in the concentration camp. That evening the soldier brought us supper, but no answer to my note. He said there was no answer. I do not remember what I had written Novicon. I probably wrote: Misha, I am here, they are deporting me to the Soviet Union. He did not come, sparing himself an unpleasant afternoon. Incredible knavery. As a Russian, as the editor in chief of a communist newspaper, he could have spoken differently with the Soviet officer. He could have told him: Look, fellow, this guy and I were locked up as antifascists in a concentration camp during the entire war. All right, let us assume he does not reveal this. But then he could have brought me a coat and another piece of bread. In the intermission before Alexander Jar's expulsion, when he took me by the arm the same way he used to in the concentration camp, as we were walking in the garden of the Writers' Union building, he told me he had not done this because the party had advised against any such intervention. In my opinion, he had failed to intervene not because of the party, but because he had simply been a coward. In a similar situation, the party could have told me what it liked! I would have gone. What did he have to lose? A Russian appealing to another Russian. A communist to another

communist. Jesus Christ! From there on, we traveled on the wide-gage railroad. Inside the Soviet Union. Together with a Russian girl. The Transylvanian Saxon women were giving her a hard time, calling her a Russian whore. Finally, my friend, Ricsi Falk, and I intervened. He too was in the communist underground, but had not been an old inmate of the concentration camp. He was a recent deportee, a mason from Craiova. As Falk, he spoke German. But as every mason, he was part Italian. He spoke both Romanian and Hungarian fluently. He was 45, just below the upper age limit for deportees. Together we went over to the Germans and told them to take care and leave the girl alone, otherwise they would have us to reckon with. Instead of her husband, we protected her. From then on they left her alone. How did she get to be in our boxcar? Her husband was a Hungarian lathe operator from Arad, with a German-sounding name. When he entrained, she volunteered to accompany him. Climb aboard, she was told. That is how our relationship began.

In the Soviet Union, this girl, Lyuba, confided in me completely. But, amazingly, she quarreled with her husband. They were not even on speaking terms. I suspect that he became insane. I wish to emphasize once again that what I am about to tell you is strictly confidential, and it would not be right to publish this information. In the evening, this woman did not go for supper. Her supper was brought to her room. On such occasions I went in to talk to her. The husband was always outside in the corridor and looked daggers at me whenever he saw me. I told the woman that her husband was outside. To hell with him, she answered. Quite frankly, I did not understand the situation between them. She volunteered for deportation to accompany him, and then did not even speak to him. Lyuba and I talked a lot. It was a man-woman relationship under camp conditions, but you must not think of anything improper. There could not have been, for there was no opportunity for it. And I do not know what would have happened if there had been.. I described to Lyuba all my trials and tribulations. I told her how, after three days, I was released from the Jilava prison and taken to Bucharest, to the jail of the National Security Police. I told her that there I had a cellmate, a Ukrainian whom they had just brought from Karansebes. She asked me whether I remembered his name. Of course I did. His name was Costiniuc, and he was from Khotin, in Bessarabia. She asked me to continue, and I went on with my narrative. After a time she asked me whether I knew where she was employed. How would I know? At the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs], she replied. She was the camp's NKVD officer, she said. Constiniuc was her uncle. She knew exactly when he had been taken from Doftana to Karansebes, and from there to the Security Police. Thus she was able to verify my story. She promised to clarify also the misunderstanding with the political officer. The first lieutenant, Lyuba said, refused to speak to me because in May--I suspect that was when they set up our files, the first time we were asked our names--the interpreter, a former SS, told him that my allegations regarding the concentration camp and anti-fascism were all lies. The interpreter knew that I had been a leader of the Hitler Jugend. Thus I was cleared and was asked to help organize the camp's antifascist club. And in November I returned home, with the first transport.

[Question] Let me interrupt you once again. You returned home, into a country that had been liberated and purged of the Iron Guard and fascism. You had a record of some service in the movement, and vast experience. What price you

had to pay for this bitter experience is already evident from the preceding. But you have not said anything about when and how you came into contact with the movement.

[Answer] In early 1942, under terrible conditions, I was working on the tunnels of the Jiu Valley. Under Romanian guards and the Italian-Hungarian slave drivers of a company called Prager. These were Magyarized Italians who had been living in the Jiu Valley for ages. They spoke Hungarian and Italian fluently, and Romanian less well. The only thing even worse than the conditions under which we were living was the complete isolation, the loneliness. For although I blundered into a well-organized communist collective, but it was unwilling to admit this about itself, for reasons of vigilance. I was on good terms with one of the cooks, a Hungarian by birth. He sometimes gave me a half lump of corn mush, which was a big thing. He questioned me thoroughly. When he found out that I knew very many of Ady's poems, including his revolutionary poems, he had me recite them. He listened to them with great pleasure while stirring the corn mush. He practically admitted openly that he was a member of the movement. But whenever I asked him point blank, he refused to answer. Probably not of his own choice, I suspect. For at the age of 19 I knew more Ady poems than what an agent provocateur would be able to learn in his entire lifetime. They had some very good books, which of course were hidden, and they refused to lend a single one. And books were what I was interested in. Books and interpersonal relations. The interpersonal relations were very cool and diplomatic, and there were no books at all. This so embittered me that one fine day--perhaps it was May of 1942--I escaped. You can read about this also in my book. Thereafter I was confined for 6 months to the Craiova prison, and subsequently I was returned to the Tirgu Jiu concentration camp. Many things had changed there in the meantime. Work on the tunnels ceased. That was the time of Stalingrad, and our treatment changed accordingly. Discipline was stricter. I had left behind me a Dostoyevskian slum in Craiova and came back into a civilized, well-organized world where the provisions were quite good, specifically because of the organization. For a concentration camp, it was a great achievement that we got what we were supposed to get. It was not possible to steal the prisoners' food. Red Aid was functioning as well. I heard a thing or two from my father, who had been a Red Army volunteer in Budapest in 1919 and had remained a leftist even thereafter. And from my uncle as well. All this, the war, and my personal experience were pushing, or rather pulling, me to the left. But all in vain. I had outstanding communist friends, but none was willing to discuss politics with me. And this is how things were, although our living and working conditions were quite good. I more or less recovered also my health, but the isolation was even more terrible than the illness had been. And this is how things would have remained, but for a rather unpleasant incident. A Szekler kid, Pista Toth, came upon the communist group's boss while he was with a woman. Perhaps they were only necking, which was strictly forbidden. Kicsipista, that was the kid's nickname because he was short, blabbed about what he had seen. This communist boss caught him and slapped his face. In a concentration camp, this was intolerable. Fighting did not belong among the acceptable norms of conduct. Especially the Hungarians were indignant. The Hungarians who were excluded from the collective. About 15 of them, mostly army deserters. And then we had the unheard-of audacity to meet in the dining hall and discuss what we

should do and how we should proceed. Were they now starting to beat us up? Messengers came to us one after the other, begging us to stop what we were doing because it was prohibited. Fifteen people were not allowed to meet. There were strict orders not to congregate in groups of more than three, because that could immediately invite provocation. We thumbed our noses at all this and said that we would disperse immediately if the person concerned apologized to Kicsipista. Because that slap would have been a very dangerous precedent. It would have been the start of a conflict that would not have been in their interest either. The stereotype answer to this was what we meant by them. They were nobody, and we were nobody. And so it continued. We said that the slap was not the only issue. There were also the 15 people who were excluded from the collective. And this went on, perhaps for a month. Constant confrontation, constant bickering, and constant hatred. Until one fine day I got fed up with all this and spoke with an extremely sympathetic person in the camp's yard. I told him that the slap and apology had long ceased to be the main issue. A young kid blabbed. And so what? It happened. The strife was continuing because of the aimlessness and exclusion of a bunch of people. Concerning myself personally, I was so and so. I told him my life story and family circumstances. I virtually filled out my cadre file. He heard me with exceptional attention and said that he was unable to answer me, but soon would. A few days later I received an answer: the communist group found what I said as acceptable and advised me that I had been included among the recipients of Red Aid. Red Aid was not yet the party or even the KISZ, but it was already the movement. I might say that I was accepted as a sympathizer. They informed me of Red Aid's strict rules. In other words, they admitted their existence. I was told that from any parcel I got from home in the future, I would have to surrender 50 percent of the pastry and 80 percent of the bacon, and all of the sugar. From my grandparents in Temesvar [Timisoara] I usually got 17-kilogram parcels. The only condition they set was that I would have to break off relations with my comrades, meaning the small Hungarian group to which I belonged. In the sense that I was not permitted to tell them anything about this matter. All right. But what will become of them? That was not my concern, I was told. A direct result of this was my immediate expulsion from the Hungarian group. My bunkmate, a boy named Feri Fazekas, ceased to exchange greetings with me. But three weeks later I see that he received a parcel from home. He became very nervous and could hardly wait for me to leave. I stayed just for the heck of it. Finally he got tired of waiting and turned his back to me, so that I would not see what he was doing. But I saw nonetheless. He cut the cake he received from home in half; the bacon, into five pieces. I had to laugh. Even Feri Fazekas had become a member of Red Aid. Within a short time, every useful person had joined the movement. With the exception of two or three persons with whom the movement did not want to have anything to do. They were members of the lumpenproletariat, and there was not much one could have done with them. They belonged to our group only on the basis of, should I say, race. As a result of their herd instinct. Thus a small Hungarian group was formed that became a member of Red Aid. And what is even more important, the members of this group received political indoctrination. We ended our isolation and were now in contact with the movement, observing the strictest conspiratorial rules. Each of us had contact only with one person. We were also given tasks. I, for example, was assigned to Mihai Novicov as an

assistant librarian. We had a library of 400 volumes. Anyone who received a book from home gave it to us for the library. The books were stacked next to the librarian's bunk, and in practice I was in charge of them. Around that time also Gheorghiu Dej and Chivu Stoica had arrived from prison. But there was among us--or more accurately, not among us, because he belonged to the communist group--a cabinetmaker, Pista Nagy, who was suspected of spying on us. (Not identical with the writer and cabinetmaker, Istvan Nagy.) Although he was a young man, he had been confined for a long time in Doftana, and from there he had become a member of the movement much sooner than I from here. By the time I was admitted to the movement, he had already become a stool pigeon. One day he suddenly escaped. They caught him, brought him back and locked him up. I was assigned at that time to the team that was roofing the barracks with tar paper and hot tar. I just happened to be working on the roof of the building in which the camp commander had his office when this Pista was brought over from his cell. Straight to the colonel's office. I lowered myself on the roof of the building, exactly over the colonel's open window, and eavesdropped on the interrogation. The boy attempted to save his hide and revealed what was going on. That the communists in the camp, who were essentially the leaders of the Romanian CP, were ensnaring and infecting the young Hungarian kids. Of course, I reported this where I was supposed to. And the colonel, a bit late, transferred us to the third group. In the first group were those who paid for the meals and accommodations. Actually that section counted as first class. Laszlo Foldes was confined there, for example. I do not know him personally and have never met him. In the second group were the communists, and we with them. The third group was a mixed bag of black marketers, swindlers, etc. We were transferred to this horrible whorehouse. After the orderly communist group, this seemed Harlem. Life here was characterized by hooliganism, racketeering, and oppression of the weak. At the head of the system were two or three fat and rich bullies. From their point of view, however, our transfer there came too late. We were already organized. We went there determined from the very outset to lead our independent left-wing life. Once again, we were joined by three or four fellows who had nothing in common with the movement. They saw no other solution than to join our organized group, without any ideological considerations. They did not have any ideology, and did not know what it meant. Thus there was a narrower communist collective, and a wider Hungarian collective which tacitly accepted that we were communists. But they also knew that we were honest, could be trusted and did not steal. And we were not so reserved toward them as the other comrades had been toward us at one time. It would have made no sense. I regard isolation and reticence an idiocy. A leftist idiocy. Between four eyes, I was always willing to say what the score was. To whom could he have betrayed what I said? Everyone already knew about it. We went to work, and within a few weeks the 70 people among whom we had been transferred were toeing the line. We dismissed the group commander and replaced him with our man, someone recommended by the second group. Very prudently, the new group commander was neither a Hungarian nor a communist. He was a Ukrainian fellow who heeded our advice on everything. I think he was a sympathizer, but this was never discussed.

I had also a relative in that camp, a gendarme by the name of Dioszegi. Probably a corporal. He was in charge of the bathhouse. He came from Temesvar

and was married to my mother's niece. This gendarme in charge of the bathhouse was terrified of me. He was afraid he would lose his nice warm job in the bathhouse and perhaps be sent to the front if it became known that he had a relative in camp. He did not maintain any contact with me. He informed me that he would not, and I understood. Why should I jeopardize his job? But the front was approaching. In the winter of 1943-1944, it was already at the Dniester River. One day that winter we found out that 70 so-called Iron Guard rebels were being brought to our group. The most dangerous types. My relative, Dioszegi, sent us word from the bathhouse. To his credit. He also let us know that in the bathhouse the 70 newcomers had already been informed that a small group of Hungarian communists was terrorizing the collective. The Iron Guardsmen came to the barracks from the bathhouse around midnight. One of our boys, Jancsi Schuller, shouted at them to be quite because we had to go to work next morning. But his pronunciation was so unmistakably Hungarian that one of them immediately replied: "Go back into your mother's cunt in Budapest." It was already starting, we thought. The next morning I teamed up with a friend, Zoli Kramer, because we two spoke perfect Romanian. He is now a retired barber in Kolozsvár [Cluj], living on Gorogtemplom Street. The two of us went up to the Iron Guardsmen and asked them directly: Who was their commander? They were taken completely by surprise. To such an extent that a young, sympathetic university student immediately identified himself as their commander. The others just stood staring. We asked him would he be willing to come out a bit into the yard. An embarrassing silence followed. There was nobody in the yard, and it was fairly cold outside. I saw that he was considering for a second what he wanted with two Hungarians in the yard, but he had his pride. A commander must not be afraid. Yes, he replied, he would gladly come. We went out. The others looked at us with amazement. We walked an hour or two in the snow and explained the situation to him. We began by saying that we knew what information they had received in the bathhouse. The information that we were Hungarians was correct, and it was also correct that we were communists. But it was also true that the others were gangsters. Having been imprisoned for years, they themselves knew just as well as we did that no ideological problem would or could be solved between us in camp. If they decide to side with the gang, they will not have solved anything. At most we would have fights. I told him literally that five people could easily beat a sixth one up. But 70 people could not beat 15 up, 15 young fellows. Only the camp command would profit from the conflict. It would assign guards to the barracks and make our lives more difficult in every way it could. They knew this just as well as we did, I said. They did. He liked very much that we did not deny anything. And in the end he asked us what we wanted. Two things. First, that certain Mr Moldovan (for we had found out his name in the meantime) had to apologize to Jancsi Schuller. And secondly, something like this should never happen again. Then there would be order, which they too wanted. We saw that they were an organized group. There was nothing to agree on ideological questions there. He himself could see that there was order and cleanliness, but no theft, gambling and lice. That was in their interest as well as ours. They were well dressed. Which meant that they had endured confinement for years. That required iron discipline. We did not object to iron discipline and were even practicing it ourselves. He replied that everything was settled.

It took Mr Moldavan a few days to quiet down and to apologize to Jancsi Schuller, but in the end he did.

[Question] Who was the university student in the white sweater?

[Answer] I don't think I remember his name. I met him in 1946 in Temesvar on the street, and he was very glad to see me. I think he continued his university studies.

[Question] Then let us continue where I interrupted you: in November 1945 you got off the train that brought you back from the Soviet Union. Who did you turn to, and what did you do?

[Answer] I arrived in Bucharest. They wanted to keep me there in some job that I was offered, but I did not accept it. I wanted to go home. In January 1946, I went in Temesvar to the party with a letter of recommendation that I had received in Bucharest from Sandor Szenkovits. What did I want to do, they asked. I wanted to become a journalist. My father had been one. All right. I should go home and write a report. About what? Where had I come from. From the Soviet Union, from a mine. Well, a good report about that mine. I went home, wrote the report, and took it back. They scanned through it. The party secretary called a girl and asked her whether the local party newspaper--it was called LUPTATORUL BANATEAN or Fighter of the Banat--needed an editor. Well, here was one. She should take him over. A small matter he overlooked was that I had written the report in Hungarian, but LUPTATORUL BANATEAN was a Romanian newspaper. She took me over. And for three years I was a Romanian journalist. We talked Hungarian a lot in the editorial office, because I was not the only Hungarian there. My next job was in Bucharest, as deputy editor in chief and then editor in chief of IFJUMUNKAS. I worked there three years. Throughout all of 1952 I was editor of Ifjusagi Kiado (Youth Publishing House). In January 1953, at my own request, I was reassigned to IFJUMUNKAS, but only as an editor and not as the editor in chief. That good life lasted nearly three years. I March, many Hungarian newspapers ceased publication. SZAKSZERVEZETI ELET, IFJUMUNKAS and PIONIR, for example. They are the only ones I am able to recall just now. This was the first time I was without a job in a good many years. Imre Robotos called me to ELORE. At that time I was still playing by the rules. I went to party headquarters where they assigned me to some Romanian daily. But I objected, telling them that I was a writer. By then my first volume, "Ok Feljenek!" [Let Them Fear!], had already appeared. Also a volume of translations, and a story book for children. All right, they said. I would have to work only 8 hours a day, then I could go home and write. I could not do that, I said. Well, then I should go to ELORE. I worked there a year and then was given notice. They told me very fairly and politely that they had to reduce staff. And whom should they let go if not me? I was a writer and would be able to make ends meet even without the job. Of course, it was fairly difficult to make ends meet. I was without a job until about 1955. That year they sent me for a month to Czechoslovakia. When I returned, they appointed me secretary of the Writers' Union, to my amazement. Three secretaries managed the Writers' Union at that time: Mihai Beniuc, Aurel Mihale, and myself. What surprised me the most was that I had joined the Writers' Union not long before my appointment.

[Question] But you did not remain a secretary long. We already know that the spring of 1956 was approaching, and preparations were underway to organize the meeting at which Alexandru Jar would speak. Because of that speech, you too would vote in April--against your will or involuntarily?--to expel him from the party. After which you would resign as secretary of the Writers' Union.

[Answer] However, I did remain a member of the Literary Fund's board, thanks to Mihaly Beniuc. At the meeting he adopted a standpoint against me. This did not surprise me because that was the first party meeting he was able to attend. Before that, he had been suspended. But he felt that my resignation did not apply automatically to my other office as well. A few days later I met him on the street. He said that I did not look well, and he would send me for a month to Sinaia. From which I clearly understood that I had to disappear. On the one hand he spoke out against me, and on the other hand he helped me in every way he could. Very many years have gone by since then. Several times there was talk of appointing me here or there. As editor in chief of NAPSUGAR or JOBARAT, for example. But my appointment fell through each time. I have a record. Yet, Jar has been rehabilitated since then. This is indirect proof that I was right. That I was right to object and I was right to resign. However, it appears that the essential thing is not this, but a misinterpreted loyalty. I have a record to this day. They did not bother me, but neither did they help me any more. I can say that the only one who did help me was Dezso Szilagyi. But for him, I would not have anything to eat today.

[Question] Beniuc spoke out against you, and at the same time he helped you in every way he could. This duality of human behavior . . .

[Answer] . . . is the breath of new times.

[Question] Is it possible to model this "key behavior"?

[Answer] Let us go back farther. The Romanian writers disliked Beniuc intensely. Because he was a tyrant, etc. The fact is that he did suppress certain people. Blaga, for example, was unable to publish as long as Beniuc was there. But perhaps we would have been unable to publish even if Beniuc had not been there. In any case, writers identified the Stalinist period with Beniuc. Which is an exaggeration. The same thing would have happened without him. On the other hand, matters concerning the national minorities always had his full support. He was exceptionally consistent in always supporting the Hungarians. But the type of duality that you mentioned does exist. Probably also in Budapest and elsewhere as well. Even in the West. This follows naturally from a situation where one basic conviction comes into conflict with another basic conviction. One stems from original humaneness; the other, from misinterpreted organizational discipline. Specifically this is what organizational discipline would require of a person . . . Let me quote a line from a poem instead: "My leader commands from my heart!" You cannot go far with a person whose leader does not command from that person's heart. Because then perhaps a completely false, pseudowill asserts itself. I think that no organization can benefit if its members, the advocates of an idea, cannot present their true selves, but must stifle their own feelings and suppress the best of their abilities and ideas. In this way they offer the worst of what they have. That is all. There is no need to go into details.

[Question] And what about the lessons you yourself have drawn? What would you say about yourself in your capacity as believer, if I may use that expression?

[Answer] Everyone more or less was the same as I. Not only from Potsdam to Shanghai, let us say, but also from Aragon to Pablo Neruda. This is not a search for an excuse, but a characteristic of the period. Even the progressive bourgeois intellectuals far removed from the movement felt that this was right. We believed the Rajk case. Is this our sin alone, or is it the sin of those who made us believe it? I do not want to say that it was, for example, the sin of Rajk himself. Unfortunately, he went along with the deception. And I sat at home and listened. When I had them print on the newspaper's masthead "Stalin Is Our Struggle! Stalin Is Peace! The World Is Being Built in Stalin's Name!"--I don't even know who wrote this--we firmly believed these three statements. In a world living under the threat of nuclear war, we did believe that Stalin was peace. That here and there we saw minor things with which we did not agree? Well, that always happens. And we did point them out. Occasionally we wondered why we were pointing them out in vain. But because of this, a system did not lose its entire credibility. It retained 95 percent of its credibility. I recall a girl who took the floor at that March 1953 meeting when the mentioned newspaper was discontinued. She took the floor and said she did not understand why. Whereupon another girl gave her a tongue-lashing, because the directive was that the paper had to cease. But I assume that this second girl likewise did not understand why. I too took the floor on this matter and said the following: We fought against mysticism, against nationalist and Catholic influence. If we ceased to publish IFJUMUNKAS, where would those kids go? To the priest. Then the priest would be the only one who spoke Hungarian to them. Hemming and hawing, the Central Committee's representative made a note of this And we left it at that. Until IFJUMUNKAS appeared again. A good many years later. And there are numerous similar instances. Innocent people are arrested, and you believe that they are not innocent simply because they were arrested. Or horrible things are done to the national minorities, and you believe that they are not horrible. We believed, and forced ourselves to believe if there was no explanation, until there was an explanation. While Anna Pauker was arrested, Luka was arrested, and Meliusz and Edgar Balogh were arrested. And we found out terrible things about them. And until they were released and it was announced from above that their arrests had been a mistake, they were guilty in my mind and remained guilty during those years. Today it would be difficult to make me believe on somebody's word of honor that a dear and respected acquaintance is a beast who has to be displayed in a cage. But about 30 years had to elapse for me to reach this point. At least 20. At least 10. From 1946 to 1956. Since then we at least receive and screen every information with a critical eye. Perhaps we might be mistaken even so. But not that much.

[Question] Everything you have described so far, with the exception of one or two "trivia," could have been the experience of a Romanian writer as well. But these few trivia cannot be discounted. Viewed from the perspective of an entire life, they broaden the circle of wrongs.

[Answer] Independent existence as a nationality, and the native language could be just as essential to an individual--although not necessarily to everyone--as

food and clothing are. They give you a nice apartment to no avail if you cannot bring Attila Jozsef's poems into the apartment, because that is prohibited. Perfect provisions for your needs are to no avail if you may speak only Portuguese with your child. Then you are terribly shortchanged somehow. And if socialism means that a person's needs must be supplied as fully as possible, and it does mean this, then these needs include everything. Humaneness, decent interpersonal relations, and the native language. Not only that I can live on my native language, but also that our Hungarian native language is respected just as much as the bread they sell me.

[Question] In other words?

[Answer] The breeze of history touches you lightly. That is the customary way of putting it, is it not? And you realize that there are questions which only the next century will clarify. And then you turn back to the questions of which you know that perhaps you too might be able to clarify them. This unquestionably is your duty. Even if you realize that you cannot expect to live a hundred years. But you do expect to live a hundred days. And during these one hundred days you have unmistakable obligations. Even if this advances only slightly or not at all the historical course of things.

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STUDY EXAMINES TV'S MEDIA REFLECTION OF REALITY

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[Article by Tamas Terestyeni: "Some Characteristic Features of the Picture of Reality of TV News"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] The author, as a participant in international comparative research, analyzed four editions of Hungarian TV news for the purpose of revealing the artificial reality transmitted in the programs.

At the 1981 Milanese work conference of the ISA [International Sociological Society] Research Committee on Communication, Knowledge and Culture, it was agreed that the participants, through application of uniformly accepted theoretical/methodological viewpoints, would begin an international comparative investigation entitled "TV News and the Presentation of Reality." The investigation consists of three main parts:

- a) a description of the institutional and organizational system of TV news (the history of TV and television news in a given country, the organizational structure of television and the news staff, its technical, financial and personal conditions of operation, the decision making processes, etc.);
- b) a content analysis of a narrower sample of TV news for the purpose of international comparison and revelation of the characteristic features of the artificial reality transmitted through the news;
- c) a comparative semiotic analysis of TV news.

The present paper summarizes the research results with which the Mass Communications Research Center contributed to the direction of the investigation, i.e., the comparative content analysis of TV news.

About the Method

International comparative investigations only have meaning, naturally, if each participant studies selected material with the same methods and according to the same viewpoints. Our investigation adopted the modern textual analysis method, which differs somewhat from the "traditional" content analysis procedures. The content analysis team at the Milanese conference suggested this

method for the participants in the research. Since the investigation results are to a significant degree functions of the method applied, we must--while requesting the reader's patience--give a brief survey of it. The textual analysis method takes as its starting point that the texts to be analyzed are reducible to cores of minimal information, the content structure of which can be characterized in this way: a SUBJECT, while directed toward some kind of RECIPIENT, carries out some kind of ACT in connection with some kind of THEMATIC FIELD.

For example:

In the matter of rocket colonization	THEMATIC FIELD
the United States	SUBJECT
did not manage to convince	ACT
its West European partners.	RECIPIENT

The SUBJECT, or the RECIPIENT, may be a person, a group, an organization, an institution, a country, i.e., any existing thing which is capable of explaining an activity, carrying out an act. All kinds of activity and manifestations aimed at activity by the SUBJECT fall within the concept of ACT, from intentions through conversational displays to physical deeds. By THEMATIC FIELD one must understand all matters, problems and themes in connection with which the SUBJECT carries out the ACT, whether they be foreign or domestic policy in character, economic or cultural, conflicting or cooperative in nature, etc. Minimal information cores built up in this way form the ANALYSIS UNITS.

In the first stage of analysis, the text to be analyzed--progressing sentence by sentence--is reduced to ANALYSIS UNITS in the above-mentioned sense. A fragment of the text may then be identified as one and the same ANALYSIS UNIT, if, in the latter, one and the same SUBJECT carries out /one/ definite ACT toward one and the same RECIPIENT in connection with one and the same THEMATIC FIELD. If in a sentence several SUBJECTs, several RECIPIENTs, several kinds of THEMATIC FIELDS, or several kinds of ACTs occur, then according to the meaning we are concerned with several different ANALYSIS UNITS, for example:

Janos Kadar	SUBJECT	
and		
Colonel Qadhdhafi		SUBJECT
discussed	ACT	ACT
the most important questions	THEMATIC	THEMATIC
of the international situation.	FIELD	FIELD
...All the representatives	SUBJECT	SUBJECT
voted for	ACT	ACT
the law concerning		THEMATIC
worker self-management		FIELD
and		
state enterprises.	THEMATIC	
	FIELD	

Every ANALYSIS UNIT must contain a SUBJECT and an ACT, but it does not necessarily have to include a RECIPIENT and/or a THEMATIC FIELD, for example:

Gyorgy Lazar, member of the MSZMP Political Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, spent today in the Eighth District of the capital.	SUBJECT ACT	(The THEMATIC FIELD and the RECIPIENT are missing.)
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Dr Ferenc Molnar, the council president of Jozsefvaros, greeted the prime minister.	SUBJECT ACT RECIPIENT	(The THEMATIC FIELD is missing.)
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In the second step of analysis there follows classification of the components, i.e., the SUBJECTs, the RECIPIENTs, the ACTs and the THEMATIC FIELDS, of the ANALYSIS UNITs identified in the outlined manner. The SUBJECTs and the RECIPIENTs can be studied from the viewpoint of what kind of social subsystems, institutions, roles, and geopolitical regions they represent. The ACTs can be classified according to the nature of their invention in the social processes: do they take place in the past or the present, are they motivated or unmotivated, are they conflictive or rather consentaneous and synergic in character? The THEMATIC FIELDS can be studied on the basis of the nature of the matters, problems, questions and themes with which they are connected, which areas of social life they touch upon, whether they bear signs of harmony or conflict, etc.

In our investigation--once again following the suggestion of the Milanese work conference--we analyzed four TV newscasts of the first program of Hungarian Television (the time of their broadcast was 22, 23, 24, 25 September 1981 at 7:30 in the evening). We were able to isolate (without the weather reports) in the four newscasts 112 independent text + picture units (news, information, report, interview, commentary) in which we succeeded in identifying altogether 910 ANALYSIS UNITs.

Before we give a survey of our results, we would like to call attention to the fact that our investigation must be considered experimental in nature; after all, we performed it on a relatively small amount of material with a method--unused up until now--which first and foremost kept in view the international comparison. The advantages of investigations aimed at comparison between nations really manifest themselves, as a matter of course, if the possibility is indeed open for comparisons. For the time being, unfortunately, the data from other countries are not available. Nevertheless, we hope that our results are informative despite the obligatory restrictedness.

Politicians at Advantage

In the reality presented by TV news, those persons, institutions and organizations stand in the foreground who or which, by virtue of their social functions and their domain of typical activity, were linked to the sphere of

politics and power. In the 910 ANALYSIS UNITS roughly two-thirds of the SUBJECTs represented society's subsystem of politics and power.

In the social composition of foreign and domestic SUBJECTs, substantial differences turned up. Among the foreign SUBJECTs those linked to a political context were in a clear-cut majority, and persons, institutions and organizations who or which represented the economic, cultural, educational, etc., spheres appeared only in a very small ratio. On the other hand, among the domestic SUBJECTs the proportion of those having a political power function was considerably smaller; that of those linked to economic life, the cultural sphere and public administration was substantially greater, however.

In a self-evident way the domestic SUBJECTs formed the largest group; with a significant difference, SUBJECTs from the immediate geopolitical neighborhood (the East European socialist countries, the Soviet Union) came next. The North American SUBJECTs denoted practically only political elements from the United States. A considerably smaller number of SUBJECTs represented the rest of the geopolitical area; thus in the reality of TV news the role of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America was trifling.

We mentioned that SUBJECTs functioning in the political sphere from the entire geopolitical area outside our boundaries were in the majority (nations as political units, governments, ministers, heads of state, parties, armed forces, etc.). While, however, Western and Eastern Europe were represented in a comparatively significant ratio by SUBJECTs which were not linked to the political sphere (economic organizations and their leaders, social topics from the world of work, cultural institutions and artists, athletes and sports organizations, individuals outside their professional social role, unstructured social groups, etc.), representation of the rest of the geopolitical area was completely limited to political factors.

They Just Prefer to Speak

Our content analysis placed the activities and the ACTs of the SUBJECTs of the reality depicted by TV news into five large categories: SOFT₁ ACT, a mode of activity in which the SUBJECT does not directly intervene in the course of events, does not alter the state of things, just communicates, conveys information, expresses an opinion in connection with the state of things. For instance: The cooperative's chairman /said/ that...; the Afghan foreign minister /pointed out/ that...; The leader of the Soviet diplomatic corps /explained/ that...; Mitterrand /gave/ a comprehensive /picture/ of French foreign and domestic policy, etc.

SOFT₂ ACT: not a real mode of action, but rather an expression of the SUBJECT's intentions and aspirations, a manifestation of one's will. For example: Mitterrand said that he /intends/ to uphold the allied relationship with the United States; The parties /aspire/ to long-term cooperation, etc.

HARD₁ ACT: in contradistinction to the SOFT categories of action it means an alteration of world situations, of the course of events, of the state of things and thus represents intervention with direct and immediate consequences.

For instance: The government /reduces/ the budget of all ministries; The Indian police /took into custody/ five Iraqis; The United States /helps/ to arm the Afghan rebels, etc.

HARD₂ ACT: represents the ritual, protocol and conventionally regulated manner in the management of affairs, in the treatment of things, and is therefore described not so much as an actual alteration of circumstances and situations, a direct intervention into the state of things, but rather as a formal step in accordance with conventions and ritual rules. For example: Gyorgy Lazar today /welcomed/ Erwin Lang, the Austrian minister of home affairs; The Libyan guest /invited/ Janos Kadar /to visit his country/; The Presidential Council /bestowed a decoration/ upon X.Y. on behalf of Socialist Hungary, etc.

EMPTY ACT: events which take place independently of the intentions of the SUBJECT; one can say that they happen to it, i.e., occurrences which do not presuppose real activity. For instance: The youth /lost his life/ in the course of the encounters. Among the guests at the spa, 38 /picked up a dysenteric infection/; Hungarian theatrical life suffered a crushing loss-- Samu Balazs /passed away/ etc.

In the reality of TV news a significant part of the SUBJECTs' activity does not imply HARD intervention in the course of events but rather represents only SOFT₁, conversational, communicational manifestations. If we add to this that most of the HARD₁ and HARD₂ ACTs are communicational activity in the sense that they are realized by the utterance of words, i.e., acts of speech (discusses, debates, deliberates, commands, instructs, strikes a bargain, concludes and agreement, etc.), then it seems justifiable to infer that in the reality of TV news action with words dominates over direct physical deeds.

Present time prevails in the world of events on TV news. The decisive majority of ACTs have taken place in recent days or in the hours preceding the release of the news. Three percent of the ANALYSIS UNITs reached into the more distant past. The citation of time, the placing of current events in a historical context--aside from a few exceptions of sentence length (for example, "Brandt /at that time/ enthusiastically supported Mitterrand's election campaign")--for the most part only took place in material with domestic themes (for instance, a reference to the history and establishment of the Madach Theater).

Few words were mentioned in the TV newscasts about motivations for the ACTs of the SUBJECTs. In only a very small number, in hardly 3 percent of the total ANALYSIS UNITs did we find textual fragments which specified what reasons, incentives and goals led the SUBJECTs to the ACT (for example, The terrorists surrendered /because/..., ...State expenditures continue to be reduced /because/ that is the only way we can see to it that...etc.).

Characteristic Linkups

The ACT categories are characteristically linked with SUBJECTs of geopolitical origin or having a certain social role.

In the reality of TV news the most characteristic mode of activity of SUBJECTs working in the political sphere is the SOFT₁ ACT. First and foremost the politicians and the political organizations, the representatives of institutions, those who in this artificial world make statements and declarations, express opinions about matters and the state of things, raise problems and questions, and in connection with these agree or do not agree. Characteristic of the political SUBJECTs is participation in the ritual and protocol forms for the management of affairs: in the overwhelming majority of cases the politicians are those who pay visits, take part in meetings, invite other politicians and receive invitations, etc. It is also characteristic of them that they disclose their intentions and their plans. HARD₁ intervention in the course of events plays a comparatively smaller role in the activity of the SUBJECTs of the political sphere, and we can immediately add that even in their HARD₂ ACTs not the direct physical but rather some kind of more indirect, "more abstract" and nonphysical character dominates. The political institutions and organizations and their representatives for the most part intervene in matters not in the physical area and not with physical means but rather verbally and within a legally constituted framework: they legislate, order, command, protest, enter into agreements, strike bargains, etc.

On the other hand, deeds and activities which are not realized verbally and which have some kind of physical character are linked primarily to SUBJECTs with nonpolitical roles: the SUBJECTs of economy produce, transport and place goods on the market; the wage earners work or strike; the members of social groups demonstrate and occupy buildings; cultural institutions organize exhibitions and present artistic productions; athletes win or lose, etc. The EMPTY ("happens to it") category, which occurred exclusively in connection with nonpolitical SUBJECTs, probably belongs to this circle of phenomena as well.

We can also observe significant differences if we compare the ACTs characteristic of foreign and domestic SUBJECTs.

In the reality of TV news the Hungarian SUBJECTs, in comparison with the foreign ones, less frequently take a stand, express their opinion, accept or reject views, etc.; conversely, they more frequently pay visits, welcome partners, participate in meetings, sessions, conferences, etc. The proportion of HARD₂ ACTs is the same for foreign and domestic SUBJECTs; within these, however, ACTs violent in nature, such as, for example, to attack (with a weapon), arrest, take into custody, kill, devastate, assault, repulse, etc., occurred exclusively in connection with foreign SUBJECTs.

Comparison along the line CONFLICT/COOPERATION of the ACTs of foreign and domestic SUBJECTs confirmed by implication that the Hungarian reality of TV news is more peaceful, more exempt from violence. That is to say, in the activity of Hungarian SUBJECTs the ratio of cooperative ACTs was greater and the ratio of conflictive ACTs smaller. The data to be introduced further on indicate that the TV newscasts paint a more harmonious picture of domestic circumstances than the circumstances in foreign countries.

Thematic Fields

As we remember, by THEMATIC FIELD we must understand all those objects and problems in connection with which the SUBJECTs carry out their ACTs. The THEMATIC FIELDS are thus no more than the affairs and questions around which the ACTs revolve. The classification which follows here demonstrates what the nature was of those affairs with which the activity of the SUBJECTs was related on the TV news.

These data also express the strong political orientation of the TV news: more than half of the affairs dealing with the SUBJECTs are of a political nature (within these, international questions occurred somewhat more often). Among the other THEMATIC FIELDS only the economy attracted more significant attention.

In the reality of TV news the matters pertaining to individual THEMATIC FIELDS do not deal with foreign and domestic SUBJECTs to an equal degree. While the foreign SUBJECTs turned toward political problems almost entirely one-sidedly, the Hungarian SUBJECTs were occupied chiefly by economic questions, but they were also concerned with cultural questions considerably more often than the foreign SUBJECTs. It is especially striking in what a small ratio the Hungarian SUBJECTs reacted to questions and topics on internal politics.

We find similarly noteworthy differences if we investigate the THEMATIC FIELDS along the CONFLICT/COOPERATION line.

One of the important differences is that among those affairs with which the ACTs of Hungarian SUBJECTs are linked, those with a neutral content occurred in a much greater proportion, i.e., those which expressed neither conflict nor cooperation. The topics occupying the foreign SUBJECTs--last but not least because of a plethora of political themes--are more powerfully polarized; fewer among them have a neutral content. The other important difference is that while in the case of foreign SUBJECTs the proportion of affairs with a conflictive and a cooperative content was the same, among the Hungarian SUBJECTs the proportion of those expressing cooperation substantially surpassed the proportion of those expressing conflict. These differences demonstrate unequivocally that the TV news portrays Hungary as more harmonious than foreign countries.

Authentication

In our analysis we designated as AUTHENTICATION those words and expressions of the examined texts which asserted the importance, the reality and the genuineness of the events presented in the ANALYSIS UNITS, hence which were meant to prove and strengthen the authenticity of the contents reported on the TV news. We classified the text fragments intended as AUTHENTICATION from the viewpoint of whom they originated from:

--from the SUBJECT (for example: Qadhdhafi spoke /with appreciation/ about the results of the Hungarian national economy);

--from a WITNESS who experienced the event in question (for example: /According to the statement of eyewitnesses/...);

--from an EXPERT (for example: /Investigations by the Quality Control Institute of Trade/ proved that certain ceramic receptacles have a poisonous effect);

--from the NEWS SOURCE itself, i.e., from the correspondents, editors, reporters, program directors and commentators of the TV news (for example: ...The Afghan rebels are receiving weapons from many quarters. Today /we hardly have to prove/ this.).

More than half of the elements intended as AUTHENTICATION issued from the TV newscast itself. There was a relatively significant proportion of AUTHENTICATION originating from the SUBJECTs; however, the number of AUTHENTICATING manifestations of EXPERTs, and especially of WITNESSes, remained minimal. Taken as a whole, we found text fragments and expressions intended to be AUTHENTICATING in altogether 12 percent of the ANALYSIS UNITS.

Two Pictures in One Frame

Without our wanting to generalize the results of our experimental investigation performed on limited material onto the entire programming of TV news, and now finally setting aside the methodological apparatus, let us briefly survey the more important characteristic features of the picture which has evolved from the analysis.

The investigated TV newscasts build up two definitely separable (in spite of their interrelationships) realities in one and the same frame: one--within the borders--Hungarian, and one--outside the borders--foreign. The two proportions compared with each other as well as the order of presentation of events pertaining to the two kinds of reality suggest that the really important affairs take place abroad in the wake of acts of foreign subjects.

The foreign reality is politics, within this, the realm of politics among nations. The appearing persons, groups, institutions and organizations represent primarily the political sphere, and the affairs around which their acts and their manifestations revolve are, in the overwhelming majority of cases, of a political nature. The other domains of social existence, economic life, culture, education, etc., in foreign reality fall outside the primary sphere of interest.

The typical "hero" of this foreign reality is the politician, for whom it is particularly characteristic that he takes verbal stands in connection with the affairs and participates in protocol events. While the political subjects, in the majority of cases, intervene verbally in the course of events, the subjects which fall farther from the political sphere prefer not to act in communicational modes.

A significant part of those affairs with which the political subjects of foreign reality generally deal is of a powerfully conflictive nature and not

infrequently threatens mankind as a whole. Closely connected with this is the fact that in the activities of foreign personages the conflictive and confrontational character is strong.

In the Hungarian reality of TV news, economic life stands in the limelight, but cultural questions also attract significant attention. The political sphere--in comparison to the foreign reality--plays a smaller role: there are fewer political topics, there are fewer subjects representing the political domain, and participation in protocol and ritual events rather than standpoints and the expression of opinions and views characterize the political personages themselves. The restrictedness of the public character of our political life is certainly reflected in the relatively low proportion of information about internal politics and in the comparatively great stress on protocol acts.

The typical "heroes" of domestic reality are for the most part colleagues with managerial duties in various kinds of economic, public administrative, cultural, etc., institutions and organizations. Their acts are by nature directed not at matters of global political importance but rather first and foremost the country's current internal problems.

The Hungarian reality is more peaceful and harmonious than the foreign one. In the affairs and in the acts there is less conflict and confrontation and more cooperation and agreement than in the other corners of the television world.

The two kinds of reality have, of course, features in common. Both realities are in the present, from which there is little retrospection. In both realities the institutions and organizations, or their official representatives, come into the limelight; the nonorganized, noninstitutionalized sphere and the more personal world of individuals play only a trivial role. In both realities, communication and verbal action are the characteristic method of management of important affairs. It is characteristic for both worlds that to a significant degree the reasons, incentives, motives and goals behind the acts remain in obscurity.

Primarily the TV newscasters themselves strive to prove the importance of the affairs and the genuineness, authenticity and actuality of the reality presented by TV news. It is the task of subsequent research to investigate how this artificial reality is interpreted and experienced and to what extent it is accepted as actual reality by the TV news audience.

Table 1

Social Type of SUBJECTs

	(Percentage)		
	<u>Foreign SUBJECT</u>	<u>Domestic SUBJECT</u>	<u>Total SUBJECT</u>
Head of state	14	1	10
Nations or their representatives (envoys, foreign ministers)	26	7	19
Governments and their members	20	18	18
Courts of law	1	0	0
Armed forces, police	6	0	4
State offices and their colleagues	5	11	8
Local authority	1	4	2
Parties and their leaders	6	7	6
Terrorists groups, individuals	4	0	2
International political organizations	3	0	2
Other international organizations	0	0	0
Churches and church personalities	0	0	0
Trade unions	1	0	1
Economic organizations, producing units and their leaders	4	25	11
Social topics from the work world (workers, employees--disregarding the jobholders and their bosses in the following four fields)	2	4	3
Experts and institutions of education and science, their leaders and the students	0	1	1
Cultural institutions (mass communications, the arts) and their directors, colleagues	1	11	5
Institutes of health, their leaders, spe- cialists	0	2	1
Sports institutes, their leaders and practitioners	2	4	3
Voluntary, social organizations, move- ments, coalitions of nonpolitical nature	0	0	0
Noninstitutionalized social groups (according to gender, age, economic situation, etc.)	1	2	1
Criminals, deviant elements	1	0	0
Individuals outside their professional social role	1	3	2
Natural factors (earthquake, runaway bull, rabid dog, etc.)	1	0	0
Total	100	100	100
ANALYSIS UNITS =	545	365	910

Table 2

Geopolitical Distribution of SUBJECTs of TV News

	(Percentage)
Hungarian	39
West European	19
East European (together with Soviet Union)	18
North American	9
Middle Eastern (together with Iran and North African Arab states)	5
Asian (together with Australia)	3
African	2
Latin American	2
Indefinable	3
Total	100
ANALYSIS UNITs =	910

Table 3

Types of ACTs on TV News

	(Percentage)
SOFT ₁ ("he says" type)	35
SOFT ₂ ("he intends" type)	6
HARD ₁ (causing direct change in world situation)	33
HARD ₂ (protocol, ritual)	24
EMPTY ("happens to it" type)	2
Total	100
ANALYSIS UNITs =	910

Table 4

Political and Nonpolitical Roles of SUBJECTs, According to Type of Their ACTs

<u>ACT</u>	(Percentage)		
	<u>Political SUBJECT</u>	<u>Nonpolitical SUBJECT</u>	<u>Total SUBJECT</u>
SOFT ₁ ("he says" type)	38	29	35
SOFT ₂ ("he intends" type)	7	5	6
HARD ₁ (causing direct change in world situation)	26	46	33
HARD ₂ (protocol, ritual)	29	14	24
EMPTY ("happens to it" type)	0	6	2
Total	100	100	100
ANALYSIS UNITS =	591	319	910

Table 5

Foreign and Domestic SUBJECTs, According to Type of Their ACTs

<u>ACT</u>	(Percentage)		
	<u>Foreign SUBJECT</u>	<u>Domestic SUBJECT</u>	<u>Total SUBJECT</u>
SOFT ₁ ("he says" type)	40	30	35
SOFT ₂ ("he intends" type)	6	5	6
HARD ₁ (causing direct change in world situation)	33	33	33
HARD ₂ (protocol, ritual)	21	28	24
EMPTY ("happens to it" type)	1	4	2
Total	100	100	100
ANALYSIS UNITS =	545	365	910

Table 6

Content Types of THEMATIC FIELDS (broken down according to foreign and domestic SUBJECTs)

	Foreign <u>SUBJECT</u>	Domestic <u>SUBJECT</u>	(Percentage) Total <u>SUBJECT</u>
Countries' internal politics (governmental matters, parties and party ties, administrative questions, political conflicts, terrorism, etc.)	36	18	28
International relations (relationship of states, allied blocs, East-West relations, rearmament, disarmament, negotiations, detente, etc.)	39	21	31
Economic life (questions of macroeconomic management, problems of growth, economic relations, problems of weak development, etc.)	12	35	22
Domain of work (employment, distribution, trade union movement, self-management, etc.)	6	2	5
Education and scientific life (state of educational system, application and evolution of science, discoveries, etc.)	1	2	1
Cultural life (cultural values, state of cultural institutions, evolution of fine arts, mass communications, etc.)	1	13	6
Health service questions	0	4	2
Law and the dispensing of justice	0	0	0
Religious and church affairs	0	0	0
Social participation (nonpolitical movements, initiatives, activity of non-structured social groups)	2	2	2
Deviance phenomena (crime, alcoholism, drug problems, etc.)	1	1	1
Human relations (family, socialization, etc.)	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100
All ANALYSIS UNITS in which it was possible to identify a THEMATIC FIELD	323	250	573

Table 7

THEMATIC FIELDS With Conflictive and Cooperative Contents (broken down according to foreign and domestic SUBJECTs)

	Foreign	Domestic	(Percentage) Total
	<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>SUBJECT</u>
THEMATIC FIELD with conflictive content	30	18	25
THEMATIC FIELD with cooperative content	30	28	29
Neutral THEMATIC FIELD	40	54	46
Total	100	100	100
ANALYSIS UNITs	323	250	573

Table 8

Sources of AUTHENTICATING Elements on TV News

	(Percentage)
SUBJECT authenticates	30
WITNESS authenticates	1
EXPERT authenticates	12
NEWS SOURCE authenticates	57
Total	100
All ANALYSIS UNITs in which there was an AUTHENTICATING element	107

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CSO: 2500/437

DANUBE '84 MANEUVERS DESCRIBED IN DETAIL

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Jun 84 p 6

[Article by Laszlo Szabo: "Notes on the Danube '84 Exercise"]

[Text] For weeks it has been well known in Hungary and abroad that the code-name Danube '84 Maneuvers are being carried out in Transdanubia by 16,000 Hungarian, Soviet and CSSR troops. The goal is clear: to test the military skills of the Hungarian, Soviet and CSSR troops and the efficiency of their weapons in order that our countries should never suffer an aggression which they would not be able to hold off or retaliate for. Since the beginning of the week the land troops have been carrying out maneuvers conceived for the most difficult and unexpected situations, and the united air force is daily supporting the actions carried out on the ground with parachutists, missile attacks and bombings in symbolic and live versions. The high-ranking technical officers of the general headquarters for the unified forces "grant awards" according to success as measured in minutes or seconds, meters or even millimeters.

The maneuvers have been going on for a number of days, everyone knows about it for the news was in the newspapers, on television and radio. But the news about such maneuvers will reach the public also in another way. Any Transdanubian with his eyes open can arrive at the conclusion that maneuvers are being conducted because of the many troop trains and the Hungarian, Soviet and CSSR army tents that suddenly appear deep in woods and on fields.

Who Is Opposed to Whom?

Consider how much sooner these troop movements were known to those who held this year almost a dozen maneuvers in Europe, publicly acknowledging that their military target was the socialist countries? NATO military intelligence is never shy if it wants to take an interest in our military affairs. And indeed it wants to! And how it wants to! If the situation exists it will pry most brazenly into our training plans, our armies' degree of preparedness, and the level of our technical equipment. And thus it is understandable if it had prior knowledge--and they aired on such radio stations, for example, as SZER [Radio Free Europe] that designated troops of three socialist countries were preparing for maneuvers. Why do I bring this up? Because in truth we have never made a secret of the fact that in maneuvers--a necessity forced upon us--we have to develop the cooperation readiness of

our armies. Nor do we make a secret of whom we regard as the most dangerous to the peace in respect to ourselves. But the troops participating in the maneuvers still do not go into defensive attack facing the West. Yes, into attack. For our maneuvers always proceed from the point of view that if we or one of our allies are attacked we will avail ourselves of strength in unity and defend ourselves, we will stop the attack and then our troops will counter-attack. Such an attack can hardly be directed at Hungary from the East, for we are defending ourselves against the aggressor with the help of our fraternal allies. And still it is precisely toward the East that we carried out the Danube '84 Maneuvers.

"Now also the competent authorities set the direction of advance by our troops against the assumed aggressor in such a way that it started from the Western border, crossed over the Danube and clashed with the "enemy"--as we were briefed into the "secrets" of the Danube '84 Maneuvers at a command post set up among the Transdanubian hills by Lieutenant Colonel Laszlo Madarasi, one of the Hungarian artillery commanders.

"In other words we want to avoid even the appearance that in their exercises the Warsaw Pact troops"--he said--"are shooting westward lest they provoke us with their high-powered weapons. And at the large firing range by Hajmasker under maximum security conditions, the airplanes do not send missiles and bombs toward the Western border but in the opposite direction. As the cannon shells spewing hellish noise and smoke fly in the direction of the Danube, the modern tanks also turn their frontal profile eastward, and in this way they carry out their military tasks. The spirit of Helsinki--with its confidence-building measures of a military nature--are not forgotten by us, because it is known how sensitive everyone is to military exercises. We are sensitive, too! But this is something that certain NATO generals do not want to take very much into account...."

Security

Yesterday I had the opportunity to see Hungarian, Soviet and CSSR military operations in the hills at Hajmasker where live ammunition was used. Missiles with live explosives flew hissing from hundreds of MIG-23 and Suhoi (Szuhoj) machines to ground goals, before the attack operations of our troops live shells "softened" the outer fringes and the deep structure of the assumed enemy, live ammunition chattered from the self-propelled cannon and automatic guns, several hundred tanks and armored personnel carriers broke the silence of the stony hills which could hardly be used for any other purpose. And still no one had to fear who, let us say, lives or works as little as 10 to 15 kilometers away, although 10 to 15 kilometers are really nothing for a missile or shell of the kind they use here.

"The high command of the Warsaw Pact member countries sets up in the conduct of a given exercise the kinds of security requirements that completely exclude the possibility that a projectile should go astray and an accident occur among the population," said Major Geza Majsa, the political deputy of Lieutenant Colonel Madarasi. In our preparations for the exercises, for example, we took measures to control from what direction our projectiles could

come and where they could be directed with complete security so that there could be no accident even if someone were to read erroneous ballistic elements from the computer. Our soldiers have also raised these security questions. We have an exceptional number of university entrants among our soldiers."

He says of these latter soldiers that they are not only curious but--contrary to earlier concerns--are able to stand up to military life very well. This is an important statement because they are no longer separated into "university battalions" but they spend their 12 months in military service and do their exercises here in Danube '84 spread over average sections. This is not at all easy work for they must not only carry out their military tasks fully and indefatigably but they must also see to maximum security, even useful plants and roads must not be damaged.

Environmental Protection

I observed a CSSR tank battalion as they camped, how careful they were even for the bushes although the site was in the woods. Zdenek Klein, a captain in the CSSR army, one of the officers of the unit setting up the camp and designating the tank areas, said the following:

"People are inclined to accept an easy solution, but if they devote a bit of thought to the matter, they can on most occasions find the solution which meets the goal and also protects the environment. At home we usually practice river-crossings with tanks on the Vag River. The Vag area is full of vegetation that needs to be looked out for. Not to speak of production. And we do watch out!"

Another CSSR officer, Captain Otto Csampai, added: "Don't say about soldiers that they only know how to destroy. This environment also improves our living conditions, why shouldn't we watch out for it...."

With such thinking, for example, they worked out an operation that was apparently important but did promise to be expensive. Originally it was planned that the CSSR tank units would traverse the 150 kilometers to the exercise site by public roads and would join up enroute with the Hungarian and Soviet troops and participate in the imaginary "battle." But the measurements and calculations showed that the heavy tanks would tear up the surface over long stretches. Nor could they go across woods and fields. In this way the CSSR tank units came by rail, giving up the solution of "joining the battle enroute."

On another occasion in this same exercise, it was the task of a helicopter to take us journalists to a site where there was no useful landing site near or far, only a piece of land "the size of a handkerchief" on the edge of a wheat field where there was no growth. I wish my dear readers could have seen how carefully the pilot maneuvered to avoid damaging even a single spike of wheat.

Daring and Skill

It is necessary in an exercise, particularly if more than one country is involved, to test many things, the technical means as well as the food for the

battle area, the clothing and human readiness. Speaking of clothing, it reminds me: "Have you seen the new street uniform of the Hungarian soldier? It is simple, practical and smart. Of course, as long as the old uniforms last, the new ones will be distributed only in ratio to use and wear. But the curious person can look around on the streets, for the new uniforms have already appeared. Of course this was a top conversational subject at the Danube '84 exercise. What would soldiers talk about at such a friendly meeting as occurred recently among Hungarian, Soviet and CSSR soldiers if not the smart new Hungarian uniform?

Skill and daring are a human knack--is it not true? Thursday was the day of a special exercise such as could hardly have been seen before in our exercises. In the West they call these "commando actions" in military language, and by us it is called "special air descent action." What are we speaking of? It is a terribly difficult task to take an airfield in war time, for such sites are strongly defended. During the exercise the task was to occupy a Transdanubian airfield, assuming that it was defended by the enemy with strong forces. The fighter-bombers came, they "silenced" the air defense batteries of the defenders, then suddenly a flight of airplanes appeared, released parachutists, and then about 3 dozen large helicopters came and without descending or stopping--proceeding at a height of 3 to 4 meters and a speed of 30 to 35 kilometers per hour--about 300 strapping Soviet soldiers jumped out, and immediately took up combat formation. Their mission was to occupy the command post of the airfield and hold it until the main forces arrived...They did it so well they did not suffer even a single sprained ankle.

Nothing suggests better the worth of their daring and the military skill necessary for such a combat operation than the fact that the chief of the united Warsaw Pact forces himself, Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, applauded the action that was carried out in such an outstanding manner. As you know, generals do not applaud often.

Lieutenant Vladimir Belentsev, who has already participated in 12 exercises and has made 41 parachute jumps, says that a "naked" jump like this requires more daring than a parachute descent from 8,000 meters up, and he knows. He has done both often enough.

Military skill is measured at difficult exercises. Now even military hands clap at a successful mission. But this is no theater!

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PROSPECTS FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Bad Tradition Between Party, Education

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 5, May 84 pp 123-125

[Article by Stefan Opara; for other material on this subject see JPRS-EPS-84-071, 4 Jun 84 pp 38-51: "Problems of Political Education Surveyed"]

[Text] [Introduction] In the third issue of our monthly this year, we published an article by Comrade Henryk Bednarski, "Marxism-Leninism and the Development of Social Sciences in the Polish People's Republic."

The article deals with vital matters of marxist theory as well as with the social sciences in Poland. We are treating it as the basis for broader discussion on the problems brought up in it, thus we are opening our columns to such a discussion. At the same time, we would like to feel that the opinions published constitute our contribution to the preparation of the All-Poland Social Sciences Conference which is to take place this fall.

Comrades S. Opara and S. Rainko are voicing their opinions in this issue. The articles of Comrades W. Zastawny and R. Polinski are substantively related to the subject of the discussion.

* * *

The thesis incorporated in Prof H. Bednarski's article that "it is the primary task of the party to rebuild, strengthen and develop the position of marxism-leninism in all of the social sciences," prompts the question of how this goal can be implemented. The thesis is unquestionably correct. We know that socialism cannot be built successfully without a strong marxism-leninism position in the social sciences, without a scientific analysis of reality, without reliable developmental forecasts based on a scientific foundation. The scientific nature of our ideology--if this assessment is to pertain to events of today and not to history--must express itself in an organic connection between science and political practice. Without the light of scientific theory, politics inevitably tends towards opportunism. Scientific ideology

is not only a collection of reasons, it is also a limiter of policy. It decides which boundaries may not be crossed. The basis for building socialism is not just any science, or any kind of science, but social knowledge, built on the foundations of methodology and marxism-leninism principles. The state of the influence of marxism in the social sciences is, therefore, a specific measure of the ideological state of health in a socialist society. We are now able to observe two extreme tendencies in the assessments of this state. Antisocialist propaganda proclaims that "marxism in Poland is dead, that the party has little to say in the intellectually creative circles, and particularly in the scientific communities, because these communities are en masse speaking out against their government and against the political system of their state." On the other hand (sometimes as part of the community self-evaluations), the opinion is expressed that the situation in the social sciences is relatively good, that the existing political contestations are a manifestation of the natural pluralism of viewpoints and an expression of a healthy freedom of thought, and that if the self-government and independence of these circles were to be developed even more and their working and living conditions improved--that would be perfectly all right. It seems that neither these catastrophic assessments, nor soothing ones, form a basis for effective action to rebuild the influences of marxism in the social sciences. The ideological, moral and political losses in the scientific circles are very large. Such symptoms as the glaringly low level of party membership among students (and after all, this is the future leadership cadre of socialist Poland) and the equally low level of party membership among young scientists, assistants and lecturers (and after all, these are the future professors and leaders of science), cannot be ignored. We know too, that the activists in the opposition have not lost their influence in the scientific community, that they are training the young cadre and are the educators of the youth, that they are attempting (not without results) to enter the legal self-government structures, and even to dominate these structures. Let us add, by the way, that these important political freedoms in no way constrain the disseminators of anti-Polish propaganda, which spreads a totalitarian picture of our country and treats every attempt to enforce the law as a sign of alleged terror and repression. There are scientists who, instead of fighting patriotically for a true picture of our country, are silently approving flagrant lies or even openly supporting anti-Polish diversionary centers. The picture of the situation as it is shown here indicates the degree of the difficulty that exists in working to restore the political influence of the party in the scientific circles and to ensure the domination of a pro-socialist, patriotic, or at least realistic political orientation in these circles. But the rebuilding of marxism-leninism influence in scientific research and education appears to be even more difficult. The long-lasting regression in this respect will have equally long-lasting effects. Entire generations of students have left certain educational institutions with a distorted knowledge of marxism or no knowledge at all. Frequently, young scientists are starting to do research work not only without any marxist beliefs, but without any elementary knowledge in this area. Thus there is a need for decisive action. In replying to the question of what is to be done, answers must be given to specific questions: why, after many, many years, is there no stable network of institutions teaching scientific socialism, marxist philosophy, marxist study of religions, the history of Polish progressive social ideas? Why is there no system of master's degree and doctoral seminars devoted to Marx's, Engel's and Lenin's thought? Where are the young marxists who have

a thorough knowledge of the methodology and the history of marxist-leninist science supposed to come from? Why are there no permanent, annual competitions for master's and doctor's degree in marxism, why is there a lack of suitable support for a young marxist movement, why is there no network of marxist clubs and societies which would form the framework for cooperation and solidarity in the creative circles? Why, in every academic community, cannot there be a scientific or popular-science newspaper of an explicitly marxist character? Those questions conceal the opportunities which must be seized in order to break the cycle of inaction and begin the process of rebuilding the position of marxism in our country.

In the struggle for the rebuilding of the influences of marxism we cannot pass over the bad and good historical experience of scientific policy. It is a fact that the practice of issuing orders to science, the settlement of epistemological issues by political echelons--all of this is part of the rejected, bad traditions of relations between the party and science. But the alternative to these traditions is not passiveness. Above all, the party can and should demand of its members--scientists--full respect for statutory principles, both ideological and organizational. As Professor Bednarski writes, approximately 40 percent of the 1,400 professors and assistant professors in the social sciences are PZPR members. One cannot help but feel that many of the party-member scientists are standing on the sidelines and watching as the political and ideological struggle in our country is taking place. When attacks are being made against the party, its ideological principles and policies, many of the party-member scientists are acting as if this did not concern them at all. There are also those who attempt to get into the good graces of the opposition by their passiveness, tolerance, and even by smearing the party. The party echelons have a right and a duty to correct this type of political attitude with no fear that this is interference in the freedom of science or ordering about. This is, in essence, a problem of intra-party solidarity and unanimity. It is also a problem of human integrity and the moral responsibility of every party member, not only on the factory floor but also in the university assembly hall.

Inadequacies in Ideology, Cadres

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 5, May 84 pp 125-127

[Article by Stanislaw Rainko]

With reference to Comrade H. Bednarski's article, I would like to address myself briefly to two issues.

1. The first concerns the ideological position of marxism in Poland. During the past 10 years we have met with some painful defeats in this respect. Marxism began to lose not only its true believers but also the circle of people who know marxist thought on a sufficiently serious and deep level began to shrink more and more. The process of lecturing and teaching marxism in the party school structure and various types of lessons conducted for party members was almost totally disrupted. This occurred despite the declared intentions in this respect and the cherished illusions.

An idea which loses its advocates ceases to be a socially active idea. This is particularly dangerous in the case of marxism and when society is building socialism. Marxism is a practical ideological structure which carries with it the affirmation of socialism, and approval for the transformations whose culminations will be a communist society. It also embodies the most general forecasts and directives concerning the shape of this society and the directions by which it is created.

The acceptance of marxism is, in this sense, the condition for the acceptance (and understanding) of socialist transformations. Obviously, socialism can also be approved on the basis of pragmatic, geopolitical, and other, reasons. But we should not consider such an acceptance.

Pragmatic reasons have a limited force. They are accepted, for example, out of calculation or necessity. Rarely, in this way, are any kind of lasting and effective ties established. Rarely, also, do they withstand the test of time and history. And critical and dramatic experience does not belong to the past alone.

Therefore, any weakening, or even the least disturbance of the ideological function of marxism, its function in the role of ideology, must be reason for anxiety. Our adversaries willingly, and even eagerly, observe this fact so as to turn it around and use it (in the form of propaganda) against us. And so we hear that marxism has become something of a "dead matter" in the present socialism. This is a gross exaggeration! But exaggeration is exactly what the enemy needs in order to make maximum use of this event.

Today more than at any time in the past we must bear in mind the leninist formula of "introducing" socialist awareness. It does not cease to be current at any stage of socialist practice. It is different with ideologies than it is with technical ideas. They reveal their own strength only when they control entire groups, classes and societies. And in this respect their presence in individual and group consciousness is indispensable.

This also indicates the unusually important role of the socialist ideologues and the party as a collective ideologue. Yet this is the aspect which we have neglected the most. And let us repeat, lasting and effective identification of the people with a socialist society is possible only on ideological bases. This, therefore, is the moment which, over the long term, will determine the historical fate of socialism.

And a more detailed program of reply to this situation? The entire party must live by marxism-leninism, not just its intellectuals and propagandists. Marxism must be present in all cadre teaching and training programs, especially the young cadre. New and carefully considered programs for such training are indispensable, as well as books, brochures and various types of reports. The total absence of marxism, for so many years, in the mass media, should no longer be tolerated. By no means should this be a meddlesome, brazen indoctrination. Ignoring all else, it would simply be ineffective. On the other hand, respect for one's own ideology demands that it be spoken of not only on occasions of exceptional ceremony and not only with the help of a couple of worn

slogans, devoid of emotional value. I sometimes have the impression that we are experiencing a kind of inhibition in this respect. Yet there is no other way to spread ideology except to spread it.

Undoubtedly this will require a basic reorganization of the bodies and institutions responsible for ideology and propaganda. They did not pass the test, nor did they exhibit the necessary efficiency.

Ideologies are strengthened by confrontation with other ideologies. When basic ideological disputes no longer take place, for whatever reason, the mental and emotional activeness by which these ideologies exist and fulfill their function comes to an end.

Those who propose desistance from such disputes are doing a disservice to our ideology. Just as those who say that the basic values of socialism have already been popularized enough, or are somehow popularizing themselves. Both one and the other are at best preparing the soil for ideological opportunism and indifference.

2. The second question which I would like to discuss briefly, concerns the theoretical and cadre-institutional position of marxism.

The cadre of active marxists, i.e., those currently writing on the subject of marxist theory, is extremely small in Poland. After all, it underwent a large reduction as a result of the events of recent years. But what is most disturbing is the almost complete lack of new recruits. It may be, as some say, that there are various marxist schools in Poland, but most certainly there is no marxist preschool. And without such a preschool the biological processes normally begin to threaten us. That is why we should use the resources we have more efficiently. But apparently there is no kind of considered policy in this area, or even an attempt at interest in such policy.

The IPPM-L [Institute for Marxist-Leninist Problems], established in the 1970's, clearly did not fulfill the hopes placed in it. It did not--despite its name--adequately undertake the grave problems of marxist theory, nor did it train a cadre of teachers and scholars in this field. We must draw all of the necessary conclusions from these facts so as not to repeat the same errors in the future.

Special hopes are now being linked to the newly established Academy of Social Sciences. But this academy will not solve all of the problems. Marxism must be practiced and taught in schools and institutes throughout the country. Moreover, the structure and plans of the academy have not yet been announced publicly and submitted for professional discussion (at least the author of the foregoing knows nothing in this regard). The secrecy and mystery on this matter, entrusting it to a narrow groups of experts and chance, may cost us a great deal, as the above-mentioned experience with IPPM-L has shown.

Furthermore, Marxism in Poland suffers from a number of inadequacies of a substantive nature. Thus far, entire research areas remain beyond the pale of notice. This pertains especially to such important matters as the theory

of historical materialism and the history of marxist thought. There is not even one group in Poland at this time that is concerned in a systematic way with problems of historical materialism. The matter borders on scandal, if we consider and place and role of this theory in the overall structure of marxism, and also its importance (as a theoretical and methodological basis) for all of the social sciences and the humanities.

The general history of marxist thought is not only important and significant in itself, it has long been the field of battle with marxism. The matter became particularly timely after Leszek Kolakowski published his "Main Currents of Marxism," in the second half of the 1970's, a work translated into many languages, which undertook an intellectual and ideological debate with marxist thought based precisely on the example of its history. There is an urgent need to begin research in this field, to systematically train a cadre of specialists, and possibly introduce elements of the history of marxism into university teaching. He who cuts himself off from history, cuts himself off from the sources. Marxism taken out of the context of its own history is not only not understandable, it is a denial of itself (as a par excellence historical, and historically-based, thought).

The situation as regards the theory of dialectics and the theory of scientific socialism looks no better. They are practiced sporadically and only from time to time. The state of teaching of these subjects must also raise the greatest doubts as to its level and intellectual values. We wish that the Academy of Social Sciences would find a place in its structure for an Institute of History and Theory of Scientific Socialism.

We need our own original work. But we also need translations of marxist books from foreign languages. Yet there is no publishing policy on this and it is impossible to force someone to conduct such a policy. This is a grave deficiency and reflects greatly on our marxist literary output.

The above conclusions can be summarized very briefly: we need marxists, their ideas and their books. But we must also look after them, care about them, since they do not spring up like mushrooms after a rain.

Leading Role of Party

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 5, May 84 pp 128-137

[Article by Romuald Polinski: "Political Economy and Practical Needs"]

[Text] The developmental tendencies of a society and a socialist economy are of an essential and objective nature, but this development cannot proceed without the active participation of a subjective factor, without the guiding and leadership role of a marxist-leninist party.

The active role of the subjective factor, the force with which the marxist-leninist party exerts an influence on the rate and direction of socioeconomic development, are strictly dependent on how adequately these objective developmental tendencies are reflected in the party programs for building socialism.

The basic prerequisites for the planning of economic development by a ruling marxist-leninist party are: a knowledge of the economy and party ties with the working class.

If the planning of the development is based on a knowledge of the economy, then the party will be able to proceed in a rational way to bring the working class and the entire nation closer to the designated goals of socialist construction. The basic feature of this kind of procedure is that socioeconomic development can then be deliberately guided and controlled by the party.

There is a feedback between the marxist knowledge of the economy and the functioning and development of a socialist economy: functioning and development breed new problems and create new areas for scientific penetration, and a knowledge of the economy enables the party to modify or reform the system of the functioning of the economy and enhance the goals and developmental factors throughout the country, regions, sectors and enterprises. Thanks to this, economy may be a constantly vital science, and the party may be capable of indicating the developmental prospects for socialist construction.¹ But if the party does not attach sufficient weight to the development of economic theory, neglects activities by which it would be possible to become familiar with the increasingly more complex socioeconomic reality and make the best decisions, politically correct decisions, understandable to the basic social classes and accepted by them, then as a rule it makes serious political and economic mistakes which lead to economic strains and sociopolitical conflicts. "The development of marxism and the application of marxist analyses of events to social processes is," as was rightly stated in the resolution of the PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress, "one of the basic conditions for conducting a correct party policy and avoiding mistakes and distortions."² Hence the importance of party inspiration in the development of economic sciences, and particularly political economy.

The way in which the theory of economy, and mainly political economy, is practiced, has an important effect on its cognitive and social results. Hence the necessity for deep reflection on the social status of the political economy, its logical structure and methodology. All economists must reflect upon this in their scientific work as well as their teaching and upbringing work, and in specific cases, in their political work also.

Changes in the level and nature of the productive forces are recorded and mirrored earlier, more sharply and more accurately through economic viewpoints, which in comparison with others are less free in relation to the economic base. It is this fact which, in the final instance, determines the social and cognitive status of the political economy as a whole and its particular directions.

¹On the subject of the current state and tasks of the social sciences, see H. Bednarski, "Marxism-Leninism and the Development of Social Sciences in the Polish People's Republic," *NOWE DROGI*, No 4, 1964, pp 5-17.

²"Program for the Development of a Socialist Democracy, Consolidation of the PZPR's Leading Role in the Country's Socialist Construction and Socioeconomic Stabilization," Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress Resolution, *TRYBUNA LUDU*, Warsaw, 1981, p 21.

In political economy the particular theses are of a pronouncing, evaluating, or normative (obligatory) nature, and often they have all three of these characteristics at the same time. They give an answer to what is already there and at the same time assess specific actions, in a positive or negative way. In this way this science implements its specific social functions, giving answers to questions of what is, and also--why it is so, evaluating that which is there, and pointing out how to act so as to maintain or change the existing state of affairs. It cannot be otherwise where the substance of science is, quite naturally, by the very specificity of its subject, drawn into the whirlwind of the ideological struggle taking place in society.

This, and no other, logical structure of economic viewpoints is a method of articulating and formulating knowledge which fulfills class functions. The economic sciences also give a picture of reality and its interpretation, which serves the needs of specific social groups and movements. The specifics of the subject and the social functions of these sciences determine something which is extremely important, and that is the specifics of the problems to which these sciences given an answer. These problems relate not only to a description of social reality, but also to its evaluation and directions of development, or tasks and methods by which they are implemented by the social classes and movements.

A different viewpoint from the marxist one on the question of the logical structure of social knowledge is presented by the positivists, who, in examining the problems of acquiring knowledge in isolation from a concrete social reality, full of class conflicts, claim that only statements of fact, or descriptive judgments, are applicable to the social sciences.

This position is the result of a lack of understanding of the importance of the unity of the statements of fact, assessments and standards in the social sciences which are the instrument of operation, formulation and justification of the goals of such operation. Every political economy embodies a system of values (axiology). And that is why the logical structure of political economy constitutes a dialectical unity of statements of fact, assessments and standards. That is the basic feature of this science.

The strength of the influence of the economic sciences on socioeconomic reality is determined not only by the degree of their adequacy, but also by the mobilizing force of these sciences. The economic sciences can be either an inhibitor or a stimulator of the process of transformation from a "class in itself" into a "class for itself," and therefore they can to a various degree assist in the organizing and outlining of the development prospects of a given class or social strata. The above statement also has its theory-cognitive significance, because it suggests a specific logical structure of the economic sciences, namely a unity of descriptive judgments, value judgments, and obligatory judgments. Some scholars regard assessments or standards to be unverified judgments, according to normal scientific procedure (Raymond Aron, Theodor Geiger, Herbert Tingsten).

Economic ideas are shaped by practical and intellectual activities. The practical political commitment of politic economy, the significance that the subject and the results of inquiries of this science have in the life of society, are

not without influence on its substance and its logical structure. Political economy not only describes economic relations, but it also evaluates and formulates the directions of socioeconomic development. No economy theory--using the Mannheim terminology--is wertfrei (free of value judgments). In view of this, assessments and standards should be accepted explicitly. The fulfillment of such a methodological postulate relating to the logical structure of political economy facilitates a description of the degree of optimality of the applied cognitive procedure.

In the history of economic thought various viewpoints existed which relatively adequately reflected socioeconomic reality, but they did not fulfill the other indispensable condition of strong influence on the relations of production, i.e., they did not have the mobilizing force capable of organizing and transforming the class which was to be the motor of social change. Social utopianism, for example, was such a viewpoint. It accurately showed the situation of the social class, the parochialism and antagonism of its interests. It correctly assessed this state of affairs, but it did not know how to tell the lower class to change the existing status quo. The position of those economists who say that economic science cannot and should not be free of standards judgments, is correct, therefore.

To base economy on value and standards judgments does not diminish the role of the induction procedure in becoming acquainted with economic phenomena. The above statement relates especially to phenomena of a conflicting nature, which political economy is supposed to mirror in a direct way. The distinguished Swedish economist, Gunnar Myrdal, emphasizes this fact, stating that an economy which is not based on a system of social values cannot exist. He writes that "the value prerequisites (...) give direction to our thinking and meaning to our conclusions. They then pose questions, without which there are no answers."³ He says also that the value and obligatory (standards) prerequisites should be expressed explicitly. Where there is a pluralism of value systems, preferences in this area take on an important significance not only for political economy, but also for the adequacy of the reflection of economic reality by the scholar. Value and standards prerequisites are helpful in the methodological sense. Thanks to them a hierarchy of the importance of phenomena is established, and consequently an organization of the process of knowing, on which a cognitive result depends. The distinguished English economist, Joan Robinson, frankly writes that in political economy "(...) description and evaluation cannot be separated from themselves, and to pretend that we are not interested in evaluating is simply cheating ourselves (...)."⁴

Taking, in the economic sciences, a position of "objectivism," i.e., basing science only on descriptive (neutral) judgments and at the same time denying assessments and standards as integral elements of its logical structure, is an escape from grave social problems. This is also an avoidance, by certain theoreticians of economy, of taking a definite position in ongoing ideological

³Gunnar Myrdal, "Value in Social Theory," London, 1958, p 1.

⁴Joan Robinson, "Marx, Marshall and Keynes," ECONOMIC THOUGHT, No 6, 1957, p 3.

or class struggles or other conflicts of social interest. Objectivism is the mistaken absolutization of "supertime" or "superclass" viewpoints which ensue from an effort to perpetuate those productive relationships which they mirror.

The essence of the service role, the social idea towards classes and strata, was concisely stated by V. I. Lenin when he wrote that "People have always been and always will be the foolish victims of fraud and self-deception in politics until they learn to discover the interests of one class or another under all of the moral, religious, political and social platitudes, declarations and promises."⁵

Karl Marx hoped that a social knowledge would arise, free from distortion and ideological mystification, with the conscious acceptance by the learning subject of the perspective of the most progressive class, i.e., the working class striving to realize a society overcoming the spontaneity of the appearance of social laws and consciously shaping its development; and consequently, interested in learning the whole truth about the laws governing the development of social and economic reality. On the other hand, Karl Mannheim denied this hope, maintaining that the chance of obtaining adequate social knowledge would come about only from an attempt to accept a superclass learning perspective.⁶

The specific nature of the object of the economic sciences as distinct, for example, from naturalistic knowledge, is based on the fact that the subject learning economic relations is never totally committed or impartial towards the object of study and therefore cannot, in the process of study, rise above the dispute surrounding the object being studied.

The learning subject may display some side of the problem, e.g., the statics or dynamics of economic life, the discord or solidarism of society, the

⁵V. I. Lenin, "Three Sources and Three Components of Marxism," "Works," Vol 1, Warsaw, 1950, p 6. The exemplification of this statement by Lenin are the words of the contemporary German economist, Walter Eucken: "The religio-philosophical idea of world citizenship has been used by groups interested in tariff protection, and the old germanic idea of partnership has been used to create the modern ideology of a cartel. There is probably no religious or political idea in history which has not been used as an ideology by economic groups," (Walter Eucken, "Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie," Berlin-Heidelberg, 1965, p 12).

⁶K. Mannheim believes that only a socially independent intelligentsia (sozial freischwebende intelligenz) is capable of having objective knowledge about a thought structure determined by the social situation of learning objects. This thesis is a denial of fact, because the intelligentsia is always dependent, to a great or lesser degree, on the ruling class. See Karl Mannheim, "Sociology of Knowledge," "Sociological Review," 1937, p 57 and following. On the subject of ideological determinations of economic sciences, see R. Polinski, "Ideology and Economy," "Man and Philosophy," No 8, 1974, pp 53-69.

qualitative or quantitative aspect of economic phenomena, functional-type or casual-type analyses, etc.

Therefore, in order to understand the real sense of the struggle of different directions in the science of economy, we must understand that these are intellectual creations of specific social classes and groups and that they express their positions and their interests. Conflicting directions are aimed primarily at defending or undermining existing socioeconomic relations, and then discovering the laws pertaining to economic life. Discovery of the truth in a scientific dispute, therefore, may have only an instrumental value, and only to the extent that it is a means of implementing the goals formulated by the intellectual representatives of the ruling classes.

The class division of economic viewpoints in itself does not assume their negative cognitive value, despite the fact that frequently the idea of class divisions is given a negative meaning. The direct connection of these viewpoints with the interests of the social classes also affects the adequacy of the reflection of economic reality. The problem comes down to what interests and what classes they serve in a given historical period: progressive, conservative, or reactionary. In the history of economic thought we are able to see the rule which describes the relation occurring between the adequacy of economic viewpoints, i.e., their cognitive aspect, and class functionality, i.e., their social aspect. Ruling classes and strata always attempt to conceal the parochialism of their interests which voice the concepts of their harmony, the apoliticism of their economic viewpoints, their superclass character and their ahistoricity.

There is a strict interdependence between the cognitive advantages of political economy and the social status of the class which is its counterpart. The progressive classes, as a rule, always attempt to create a political economy which reveals the conflicts in the old economic structures and their unreasonableness. A scientific political economy, therefore, is possible. But its development must be connected with the development of a class which has a vital interest in truly learning socioeconomic reality. "A political economy," Ludwik Krzywicki wrote, "can rise above the horizons of class interest and issue an in-depth analysis of the essence of economic phenomena, but first it must understand its own class character, and not deny or ignore it. And if something like this is to take place, a certain strata must exist whose interest demands just such a conscientious 'scientific' dismantling."⁷

The criterion of the progressiveness of economic viewpoints should be the degree to which they reflect the developmental tendencies of their own historical era, i.e., the degree to which these views clear a path in the field of social consciousness, and through that--in the economic reality--towards the operation of the law of necessary compatibility of productive relations with the nature of society's productive forces.

⁷Ludwik Krzywicki, "Political Economy," Vol III, Warsaw, 1900, pp 95.-96.

The social and cognitive status of economic sciences is determined also by occurrences of social aperception. Kazimierz Kelles-Kraus introduced this concept to the literature. It described the thought horizon of social classes, strata and groups. Class social aperception decides which scientific views may be accpeted by a given social class and which may not. It indicates the range of real social consciousness--the intellectual horizon of social classes and strata.

"(...) human consciousness," K. Kelles-Kraus wrote, "strives a priori in a given direction (positive influence), and at the same time a certain kind of sifting (negative) closes off certain other paths of thinking and acting, making them invisible to this consciousness."⁸

The French philosopher, Lucien Goldman, also grasps the occurrence of social aperception in his concept of real and potential consciousness (conscience possible [in English]), as does the Hungarian marxist, G. Lukacs, in the concept of border consciousness. An examination of social aperception makes it possible to understand the origins and state of contemporary political economy as a whole and its particular directions.

New creative theories are based, as a rule, not on ossified but on new systems of values. The process of the transformation of ossified and institutionalized values is determined by the dynamics of productive relations, and in the final instance, by the development of productive forces. The tendency towards a temporary ossification of economic categories is the source of dogmatism in the economic sciences. Creative economic theories can be neither dogmatic nor doctrinaire, because they must grasp the most important aspect of economic reality, i.e.. variability and development.

"Nothing prevents us, therefore," Karl Marx wrote to Arnold Ruge, "from connecting and identifying our criticism with a criticism of policy, from participating in policy, in real struggles. Then we will not appear before the world in a doctrinaire manner, with a new rule: this is the truth, kneel before it. We are developing new rules for the world out of its own rules. We are not telling it: stop your struggles, they are ridiculous: we will give you a real battle slogan. We are only showing the world what it should really fight for, and awareness is something which the world must become familiar with, even if it does not want to."⁹

The problem arises here as to how to guard political economy against falling into the danger of apologetics. We can attempt to answer this as follows: A student of economic phenomena should not only divide social values into those which help to maintain the economic status quo, i.e., the conservative ones, and into those which help to change and develop, but he should also maintain the appropriate proportions between elements of the logical structure of economic views; that is, between descriptive judgments, as judgments verified according to the normal induction procedure, and assessments and standards.

⁸Kazimierz Kelles-Kraus, "Economic Materialism," Krakow, 1980, p 23.

⁹Karl Marx, "Letters from 'Deutsch-Frazosische Jahrbucher'," in Marks and Engels "Works," Vol 1, Warsaw, 1962, pp 418-419.

A student learning complex economic phenomena cannot forget about dialectical relativism and about the continuous transformations of economic categories and laws. That which today may be progressive may tomorrow be conservative. The way to reconcile a postulated logical structure of political economy with the necessity for scientific learning is through skilfull application of a methodology which would make it possible to practice a science which would not only most adequately reflect economic life in all of its wealth, dynamics and strife, but would also be the most progressive, i.e., express the developmental tendencies of its historical era, and consequently, mobilize for the implementation of the historical process.

The certain spontaneity in the contemporary development of economic sciences has served to convince many Polish economists that the reason for the low cognitive value of these sciences lies presumably in the fact that it has not been furnished enough research instruments and methods. Because of this belief, science is being regarded too frequently as only a box of tools used to solve concrete problems and tasks. That is, that there is a turn to agnosticism, doubt in man's cognitive ability. Human cognition, as Frederick Engels said so aptly, is both sovereign and unsovereign; unsovereign--in each individual case, related to the ontogenetic development of the learning subject; sovereign--in qualitative terms, in the phylogenetic aspect of the development of this same subject.

In the Polish economic sciences there is a common tendency to prefer quantitative and functional type studies and towards modeling treatment of social and economic occurrences, towards an uncritical transfer of methods drawn from the engineering or natural sciences to the social sciences.

Scientific learning should begin with observation, the description of facts, their selection and classification. The next stage is the generalization of the so-conceived occurrences through abstract thinking, which should separate that which is necessary from that which is random, and that which is logical from that which is historical. Based on the results obtained, scientific hypotheses can be constructed which may become scientific theories after they have been verified through social practice. In describing the course of the learning process, Lenin wrote, "From live inspection to abstract thinking and from that to practice--that is the dialectic way to learn the truth, to learn objective reality."¹⁰

Measurement of socioeconomic occurrences cannot be restricted to the quantitative aspect, because measure is a dialectic unit of the qualitative and quantitative side of the occurrence. Thus there are no theory-cognitive bases for preferring quantitative methods or going to the other extreme and denying their usefulness or applicability in practice. The problem is mainly that these quantitative (mathematical methods) be given their proper place. The limits of application of mathematical methods should be defined by

¹⁰V. I. Lenin, "Philosophical Journals," Warsaw, 1956, p 145.

substantive problems which mirror the substance of social events, their deeper meaning, and overall developmental correctness.¹¹

Quantitative changes are more difficult to perceive than qualitative changes, and that is why the latter constitute the starting point for analyses of objective socioeconomic reality. The superiority of qualitative analyses stems from that fact that only it can explain the correctness of development, the actual dependencies and the causes of change. There is a subordinate relationship between qualitative and quantitative types of study, for without familiarity with the more general correctnesses, it is not possible to answer the question as to whether a given socioeconomic action is reasonable or not, from the overall-social point of view. It is precisely the general correctnesses which determine the reasonableness of concrete decisions.

Even now some of our scholars are convinced that the substance and symptoms of economic occurrences are the same, and that is why they look on development in a quantitative, ahistorical way. A quantitative analysis of socioeconomic events is indispensable, since with its help it is possible to determine when new tendencies arise and when quantity becomes quality, but it cannot dominate the entire cognitive process.

The dialectic method of learning, which demands that socioeconomic events be studied in their dynamics, contradictions, and all-encompassing relationships, on a large scale, makes it possible to fully and deeply mirror socioeconomic life. Objective and cognizable laws govern economic life. The discovery of a divergence between the substance and the form of economic events allowed Karl Marx to establish political economy as a historical science.¹²

The extreme formalism of reasoning which characterizes certain directions of scientific study in the field of economy--not just nonmarxist but marxist as well--gives these directions a quality of apparent preciseness, but at the same time, when regarded as a goal in itself, it impoverishes them from the cognitive standpoint. Some models of economic growth, or econometric models, so characteristic of the style of practicing science in certain circles of Polish economists also, which embody an exaggeratedly complicated mathematical symbolism, lose their connection with objective socioeconomic reality as it exists here and now, and do not reflect concrete manifestations of

¹¹For example, the distinguished economist, J. R. Hicks, had to admit that "Economy is definitely a social science. It deals with the activities of human beings who are neither omniscient or completely reasonable, and whose goals (...) are frequently different and not totally fused. Economy, as such, cannot be reduced to pure technology." (J. R. Hicks, "Linear Theory," THE ECONOMIC JOURNAL, No 290, 1960, Vol 70, p 672).

¹²An in-depth analysis of the idea and substance of economic categories was made by Marx in a treatise titled, "A Method of Political Economy," which is part of his "Introduction (to the Critique of Political Economy)." K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Vol 13, Warsaw, 1966, pp 721-731.

economic life. Confidence in mathematics as a tool for economic analyses is growing. There is, in certain Polish economic teaching institutions, a tendency to make maximum use in the study process of the theory of probability, the theory of estimation and correlation, matrix algebra, and even topology, although we know very well that full mathematical modeling is possible only when events and processes are isomorphic or homomorphic.

The methodology of economy in many cases uses pragmatism, instrumentalism and operationalism as the basis for its theory of cognition.¹³

Economic concepts, models of economic growth, and econometric models often have an a priori character, for they are often introduced by way of ex ante and not ex post type analyses. The empirical requirement of verifiability is not always fulfilled. These models, so conceived, become hypostases with neither a great cognitive value nor a practical value. They are intellectual models and the same as material models they have only a certain heuristic, intellectual and classification value.

Studies based on simplified models only ostensibly allow the determination of the substance of economic processes, but in reality they distort them and that is why they can only to a minimal degree help in the cognition of economic life in all of its complexities and dynamics. Empiricism and modeling treatment of economic events, so characteristic of certain Polish economists, cannot replace a comprehensive and long-range outlook on economic reality.

Even now we can see a tendency in some of our theoreticians to transform political economy from a science about the causes and effects of economic events and process into a science about goals and means, i.e., into economic praxiology. The crowning achievement of this tendency is the view that the object of economy is not social relations occurring during the process of the production and implementation of assets, but investigation as to how, under conditions of the heterogeneity of alternative goals and the limitation of means to implement them, to use these means in order to obtain a maximum effect. The fallacy of such a praxiological position in economic sciences is inherent in its very foundations, for it assumes that individuals in economic life behave completely rationally. Furthermore, it ignores the system of social values, i.e., the factors which put a value on human activity.

In total contradiction with marxism is the concept of "technological determinism" professed by the technocrats whose primary assumption is the thesis that technical progress automatically (without a struggle of antagonisms) transforms itself into social progress. It is not technology as such which leads to social progress but, as Marx and Engels wrote, "a real movement, which endures today's condition."¹⁴

¹³ A pragmatic credo of economy was formulated by Josef A. Schumpeter, who wrote, "(...) like a tailor who has ready-made suits in stock, we expect that our goods will satisfy a sufficient number of customers (...)." J. A. Schumpeter, "Das Wesen und Hauptinhalt der Theoretischen Nationalökonomie," 1980, p 528.

¹⁴ K. Marx and F. Engels, "German Ideology," "Works," Vol 3, Warsaw, 1961, p 36.

Belief in technical progress cannot replace the study of actual tendencies in the economy, the conflict of interests, and the discord in socioeconomic development.

In many cases, the economic sciences in our country show minimal cognitive aspiration. In the work of some economists preference is given to quantitative and functional type studies, and the cause-and-effect connection of events and processes is ignored. Therefore, in some fields there are no worthwhile macro-economic studies or studies on the dynamics of economic life.

It is the task of the representatives of the economic sciences, especially at this stage of building socialism in Poland, to develop and apply positive methodological directives of marxism-leninism constituting a science with maximum emphasis on cognition. What is of primary importance is the superiority of qualitative studies, the analysis of cause-and-effect relationships, the study of socioeconomic events and processes in their dynamics, contradictions, all-encompassing relations, on a large scale.

The theory of economic development in socialism cannot be limited to quantitative changes within the existing interdependencies; it must include qualitative modifications evoked both by external factors as well as internal factors, which will change the given economic structure. These modifications can be discovered only thanks to a qualitative analysis of economic life, which would lead to a comprehension of cause-and-effect and structural-functional relationships, i.e., the directional and coexistential proprieties occurring in socioeconomic relations.¹⁵

The most important task falls to political economy, which as a social science par excellence should be the foundation for the shaping of progressive socioeconomic relations and the conscious guidance of economic development under socialism. Paraphrasing Marx's 11th thesis on Feuerbach, it should be said that economists interpret the world in various ways. What is important, however, is that it be changed. This is also the formulation of the Promethean role of economists and economic sciences in a socialist society. "There are no paved roads in science," Karl Marx wrote, "and only those will be able to scale its lofty heights who will not be frightened by the difficulty of climbing up its precipitous paths."¹⁶

Economic sciences cannot allow themselves to become political and socially isolated, that is, to limit themselves to explaining events and producing professional reports. Scientific reflection as a basis for social and economic decisions must increasingly facilitate the selection of values, goals and directions for the development of a socialist society. They must develop, accelerate, optimize and enhance socialist construction in the economic sphere. Of particular importance here is the determination of the directions of

¹⁵For more on this subject see S. Zurawicki, "Methodological Problems of Economic Sciences," State Economics Publishing House, Warsaw, 1969.

¹⁶K. Marx, "Introduction to the French Edition," in "Capital," Vol 1. Warsaw, 1970, p 26.

structural-qualitative transformation in our economy, Poland's place in the international division of labor, a method of harmonizing socioeconomic development and solving the conflicts of interests of participants in the management process. The economic sciences--to use Antonio Gramsci's definition--in the "historical bloc" with the working class, should be the motor organized by the party to enhance the goals and factors of socioeconomic development and reform the system of functioning of a socialist economy.

The system of functioning of a socialist economy and the policy for its development must also be conducive to a steady and rapid growth of socioeconomic efficiency and effectiveness, as well as to the establishment of qualitatively new human values and social relations, applicable to socialism.

The establishment recently in our country of ideological and political divisions in the economists' community was one of the main reasons why scientific criticism, discussion and scientific arguments died out. Under these circumstances, two tendencies were born in part of the scientific community. One of them is the isolation from the main stream of economic life and goals and tasks in socialist construction in the economic sphere; involvement in scientific-research work on secondary, microeconomic or even exiguous problems; formalization and excessive mathematization of the economic sciences; that is, restriction to quantitative and functional aspects of economic events and processes. The second tendency found its expression in attempts to transfer, and uncritically, at that, to our ground, by certain economists, various eclectic nonmarxist "theories": social-democratic, lower middle-class, neo-liberal, anarchosyndicalist, and others.

A political climate is now being shaped in which it is becoming possible to break through the passivity and reserve which characterizes part of the academic community. The proper place for free scientific discussion, for the development of a marxist political economy is being restored in the intellectual life of our country. All of this makes us believe that the economic sciences will become an important factor in overcoming the crisis, in stabilizing the economy and harmonizing socioeconomic development.

In summing up it should be said that the marxist political economy in our country is not free of the influences of the tendencies mentioned here. What is important now is that they be overcome and that positive methodological directives of marxism be developed which should shape an economy characterized by a maximum of cognition thanks to the superiority of structural-qualitative studies, the analysis of cause-and-effect relations, the study of economic processes and events in their dynamics, in their all-encompassing relations, and on all scales-- and in the social aspect--thanks to the fulfillment by the political economy, as the sociology of economic life, of a Promethean role in the process of building socialism.

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INTERNATIONAL UNITY, SOLIDARITY URGED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10, 25 May 84 pp 28-29

[Article by Ion Stoian, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the RCP Central Committee: "Necessity of Collaboration and Solidarity of All Democratic, Progressive and Anti-Imperialist Forces"]

[Text] As they celebrate the 45th anniversary of the historic demonstration on 1 May 1939, the working class and the whole Romanian nation are recalling one of the most impressive antifascist and anti-imperialist actions organized in that period, when it was a most urgent item on the agenda to mobilize the masses and the democratic, antiwar forces against aggressive Nazism and the grave dangers menacing the European countries and their freedom, independence and territorial integrity.

The nature and deployment of this great demonstration bore the unmistakable stamp of the personality of the young communist Nicolae Ceausescu and his extraordinary capacity for organization and persuasion both in the preparation properly speaking of the demonstration and in the political actions he undertook along with the young revolutionary worker Elena Petrescu (Ceausescu) and other young communists within the guilds.

The main idea of the great demonstration in Bucharest on 1 May 1939 was the unity of action of workers in Romania and all antifascist and antiwar forces on the international level. Under these circumstances Nicolae Ceausescu also displayed one of the essential traits of his thought and life, namely his unswerving conviction that unity of action strengthens the masses tenfold and guarantees success of the revolutionary struggle.

Unity and militant solidarity with all democratic and progressive forces and with peoples everywhere and the internationalist spirit (which has always characterized the celebration of 1 May in Romania) are distinctive characteristics of the policy promoted over the years by the workers socialist and democratic movement in Romania and by the RCP. It is graphically illustrated by the active support accorded by the Romanian working class and revolutionaries to the proletariat and workers of the whole world and to the anti-imperialist movements for national liberation, by the continuing consolidation of collaboration between

the political party of the Romanian working class and the workers parties in other countries, and by the promotion of the progressive, revolutionary positions of the Romanian socialist and workers movement and the RCP on the great problems of the struggle to create a world of justice, equality, peace and brotherhood.

Since the victory of the Antifascist and Anti-imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation of 23 August 1944, in the years of building the new order, and especially since the Ninth Party Congress, after Nicolae Ceausescu became chief of the party and state, the RCP's policy of international collaboration and solidarity has reached a higher and better level and acquired a new brilliance and new proportions, considerably enriching its content and manifestations with an innovating, coherent, uniform and profoundly revolutionary conception. In the last 19 years, the most successful period in Romanian history both nationally and internationally, continuity and consistency, firmness and high principles, complete unity between the internal and external aspects of construction of the new society, wide receptiveness to all the forces of progress, democracy and peace, a constant effort toward close integration of the policy of independence with that of consolidating international collaboration and solidarity and toward the assertion of new principles in relations among parties and states, and a high sense of responsibility for the fate of all mankind and for the fundamental rights of all nations and peoples have become inherent traits characteristic in the highest degree of the RCP's entire international activity.

A staunch fighter for the Romanian people's highest aspirations, the party secretary general also emerged as an eminent militant of the international communist and workers movement and a brilliant promoter of the unity of the communist and workers parties, of collaboration of all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces, and of solidarity of peoples and nations everywhere. It is to Nicolae Ceausescu's credit that he very clearly pointed out that under the present international circumstances close unification of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces on both the national and world levels is more essential than ever to the successful struggle for innovating social reform, democracy and national independence, and peace, security and collaboration in the world. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We are militating and shall militate tirelessly for the close unification of the revolutionary forces throughout the world and of all peoples, who realize that that is the only way the ideals of social reform can be achieved, a better and a more just world can be created, and world peace can be safeguarded."

In the world of today strengthened international collaboration and solidarity is necessitated by the very action of the objective laws of historical development and by the structural changes on the national and international levels and in the world balance of power.

On the basis of scientific analysis of the vast changes in the world arena and the contradictions in international affairs and in view of the first requirements of contemporary social development, the RCP and its secretary general have developed and enriched the concept of revolutionary solidarity with new views, theories and conclusions. They have defined the content, requirements and manifestations of the international collaboration policy under the present conditions, its scope and aims, and the principles and standards that will consolidate

the unity of all the revolutionary, progressive and advanced forces on a new basis. To that end they have boldly eliminated some anachronistic, outmoded views and principles and have transcended various narrow, sectarian, one-sided, and undialectical approaches dependent upon some ideas and practices discredited by experience.

Of course in these times the idea of international solidarity cannot be limited any longer to some only of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces however important or influential they may be. Moreover history has proved the theoretical and practical inconsistency of the narrow, sectarian views of the role and tasks of the revolutionary parties, revealing the truth that in order to accomplish their historic mission the communist parties are called upon to make every effort to unite the great majority of the people around them, to promote a policy of extensive alliances, and to consolidate their unity with all progressive, democratic and advanced forces. Since the scope of the social and political forces interested in innovating changes has never been as broad as it is today and the problems facing the contemporary world are new in many respects and of an unprecedented urgency, the party secretary general keeps stressing the need of interpreting international solidarity today as a broad, comprehensive concept, and consequently the need of supplementing the appeal of the founders of scientific socialism, "Proletarians in all countries, Unite!" with the appeal for unification of the socialist countries, progressive forces everywhere, and all peoples in the struggle for national freedom, social progress, every nation's free and independent development, detente, collaboration and world peace.

The extent and dynamism of the Romanian party's and state's foreign relations strikingly reflect the viability of the RCP's and Nicolae Ceausescu's conception of international solidarity and collaboration. The RCP is now collaborating with more than 200 socialist, social-democratic and communist and workers parties, developing countries' government parties, national liberation movements, and other democratic, anti-imperialist forces. In their turn the Socialist Unity and Democracy Front, the Grand National Assembly and the mass and public organizations have connections with about 1,750 political units, legislative bodies, trade unions, professional and artistic associations, organizations for women, youth, students and children, peace movements, similar societies and bodies on all continents, and over 110 international organizations. It is also highly significant that Romania now has diplomatic relations with 139 states and economic ties with 150 states, bearing out the correctness of the Romanian party's and state's international policy and indicating Romania's active presence in the concert of nations and its constantly growing participation in the world circulation of material and cultural values.

In accordance with the guidelines in the RCP Program and the decisions of the 12th Party Congress, the Romanian party and state are making tireless efforts to develop friendship and collaboration with the socialist countries, especially the USSR and the other neighboring countries. The RCP feels that development and consolidation of all socialist countries' solidarity and the start of definite efforts to overcome some differences are in the interest of every socialist country's construction of the new order as well as vital factors for advancement of the cause of international peace and collaboration and essential to the greater prestige, power and influence of socialism.

The RCP is specially emphasizing widespread development of collaboration and solidarity with the communist and workers parties and consistently working for a new kind of unity of the revolutionary parties as an important factor for peace and progress. In the RCP's view, if this unity is to last it must be firmly based upon the principles of fully equal rights, noninterference in internal affairs and every party's right to develop its political policy and revolutionary strategy and tactics independently by creative application of the general principles of scientific socialism according to each country's particular situation and the new contemporary conditions.

It has been proved that the communist parties' viability by no means requires the existence of a center, any international hierarchic organization, subordination of any parties to others, adoption of a "uniform general policy" or the like but, on the contrary, it depends upon every party's independence with good organization and consolidation of each party within its own country. The communist parties cannot play any very important national or international role unless they have deep roots in their native soil and close ties with their own people and working class and apply the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism creatively to their national conditions.

Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works and practical activity thoroughly substantiate the idea of close and inseparable correlation of each party's unity with that of the international communist and workers movement. Firmly supporting strict observance of the basic principles that must guide relations between the revolutionary parties, the RCP stresses the need of working not for the division and separation of these parties but to consolidate their unity. As the party secretary general said at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 21-22 March 1984, "We do not think the existence of different opinions in any party should lead in any way to the formation of new groups, even if they also call themselves communist ones, because actually they tend to undermine the strength of the communist parties and the unity of the working class. Efforts must be made on both the national and international levels to overcome any differences of opinion on political and ideological grounds by strengthening solidarity and unity. The RCP will continue to work to that end."

Experience tells us that beyond their differences of opinion, the communist, socialist, and social-democratic parties must respect each other's autonomy and identity and act together on problems of common interest, particularly to stop the armaments race, defend peace, and secure the peoples' independence and every nation's right to free development without any outside interference. Only in that spirit can they overcome the obstacles to unity, reach agreement and collaboration on the great problems of this period, and progress toward the eventual historic reconciliation of the communist, socialist and social-democratic parties.

In accordance with the policies of the RCP and its secretary general we are actively developing collaboration and solidarity with the national liberation movements, the government parties in the developing and unaligned countries, the democratic parties in all countries, and with the progressive, anti-imperialist forces everywhere. In the same spirit Romania is militating consistently for expanded collaboration with the developing countries and the unaligned countries, regarding this as an inseparable part of the general struggle against

imperialism and colonialism and for elimination of underdevelopment and the creation of a new international economic order and democratization of international relations.

In the interests of peace and international collaboration Romania is also developing ties with all states of the world regardless of social system on the basis of peaceful coexistence. Romania bases all its foreign relations firmly on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, resolute abstention from use or threat of force, and constant respect for every people's right to choose their path of development in a sovereign way and according to their own will.

Naturally international unity and solidarity cannot ignore the complex problems facing all mankind. On the basis of comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the trends in international affairs and the reckless armaments race, especially the nuclear one, Nicolae Ceausescu has described the present period as the most serious and dangerous one in all history and accordingly pointed out that the effort to stop nuclear armaments is now the main problem of our time. In judging the problems of war and peace we must begin with the premise that there will be no winners but only losers in an atomic war and that once it is started the human species itself will perish in it. That is why the Romanian party and state leader stresses the absolute necessity of the peoples' united action against the danger of war. It is the duty of the governments, representatives of political affairs and public opinion and the peoples throughout the world to rise against continuation of the armaments race in order to stop and eliminate it and the danger of nuclear war, above and beyond differences of class, ideology and social order.

The idea of defending peace and consolidating solidarity and cooperation in the struggle against the anachronistic situations in our period and the policy of armament, force and domination runs like a red thread through the brilliant initiatives, actions and messages of peace in Europe and the whole world of President Nicolae Ceausescu and the entire international activity of socialist Romania.

Accordingly it is particularly important to strengthen solidarity with the powerful contemporary movement for peace and disarmament, which the Romanian people have joined with the greatest resolve. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We are convinced that the progressive, anti-imperialist and realistic forces, the popular masses, and the peoples everywhere, through united action, have the necessary strength to stop the race to a precipice, a nuclear catastrophe, to impose disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament, and to secure peace throughout the world!"

As they celebrate with pride and feeling the great antifascist and anti-imperialist demonstrations of 1 May 1939, the communists and the entire Romanian people, closely united around the party and its secretary general, are expressing their unshakable will to carry out the objectives of the program for construction of the fully developed socialist society, the decisions of the 12th Party Congress, and the policy of further strengthening international solidarity among all socialist countries and the revolutionary, progressive, democratic, antiwar and anti-imperialist forces for the triumph of reason and of peace and collaboration among all nations of the world.

ROMANIA

UNITY OF PARTY, PEOPLE IN 1944 AND AT PRESENT TIME

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10, 25 May 84 pp 15-18

[Article by Manea Manescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and Vice Chairman of the State Council: "Party and People in Strong, Inseparable Unity"]

[Text] The Romanian people are aware of their history. Recall of the deeds of their ancestors and knowledge of the most glorious traditions of the revolutionary struggle of the masses and the working class impart a deeper meaning to the entire nation's life and work and greatly clarify its future course.

For nearly two decades, in the most productive period in Romania's whole existence, which was inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress, historical problems have been studied in a new and profoundly revolutionary light. History itself has become an active factor for patriotic education and formation of the progressive awareness of the new man as a dedicated builder of socialism and communism.

Nicolae Ceausescu's inspired social-political works are a brilliant example of understanding and interpretation of the nation's history and the dialectical unity of past, present and future. His profoundly scientific and revolutionary conception is of fundamental theoretical and practical significance in this respect, a conception which he masterfully presented in the points he made at the Expanded Plenum of the Central Committee in June 1982 concerning the need of a unified history presenting, in the spirit of the principles of scientific socialism, the life, work and struggle of the Romanian people from the earliest times to the years of socialist construction.

In this liberal view the RCP's effort to unite all the nation's democratic and progressive social forces in one great front against fascism and the war and to defend national independence and integrity qualifies as a cardinal point in Romanian national history.

The international scene in the 1930's was darkened by the rise of fascism and the inauguration of Nazism in Germany. A grave danger menaced European peace and security and especially the integrity of the national states in the center and southeast of the continent. Under these circumstances Romania was faced

with an increasingly pronounced activation of the reactionary forces favoring the fascist dictatorship, especially after the Hitlerite agency, the Iron Guard, was reactivated. The rise of fascism in Romania was a betrayal of its most vital national interests and a criminal attack upon its independence, sovereignty and national-state unity.

It is to the great credit of the RCP that it understood from the start the true extent of the danger of fascism to the Romanian people's freedom and Romania's independence and sovereignty. The objective course of history determined the RCP's strategy and tactics and its courses of action based on precise analysis of internal and international events. On the basis of the social and national aims of Romanian society in this period, the RCP determined the most appropriate ways and means of further strengthening the unity of the working class and mobilizing the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the entire people to fight in defense of the unified national state and Romania's independence and integrity.

The political policy and tactics of the communists, based on better use of experience deeply rooted in the past of the Romanian workers movement, took the form of use of a broad political spectrum of courses of action and the most suitable and adaptable ways and means of bringing about the coalition of all the progressive, patriotic and democratic forces in order to unite them in a single national antifascist front of the Romanian people against the war, culminating in the Antifascist and Anti-imperialist Revolution for National and Social Liberation in August 1944.

The conclusion of a lasting alliance of workers, peasants, intellectuals, women and youth regardless of nationality was one of the RCP's most effective revolutionary and patriotic courses of action. Fully convinced that the unity of the working class and the integration of the United Workers Front were basic to a broad coalition of national antiwar and antifascist forces, the party redoubled its efforts and diversified its methods in order to create a broad background, in cities and enterprises, of cooperation with the socialists, the Social-Democrats and the unaffiliated workers in order to strengthen the ties between the working class and the other progressive and democratic social-political forces in the struggle to defend Romania's independence and integrity.

The Romanian antifascist movement from its beginnings used organizational methods on the national level that were intended to include the widest social categories concerned with checking the fascist peril. Organizing the National Antifascist Committee was the starting point on the way to forming the national consensus in the struggle against fascism and the war, and its activity confirmed the exceptional political abilities of Nicolae Ceausescu, the inspired patriot and consistent revolutionary who is now wisely and prudently managing the destinies of the party, the country and the whole Romanian socialist nation in the glorious years of construction of the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism.

Formed in 1933 on the Communist Party's initiative and combining in its complement representatives of the most varied social classes and categories (workers, peasants, professors, writers, journalists, artists, jurists and students), the National Antifascist Committee functioned as a widely representative body of great historical responsibility, actively integrated in the Romanian people's struggle in defense of the Nation's freedom and independence.

It was in the heat of the great revolutionary battles of the 1930's that the heroic Romanian working class gave proof of its inexhaustible revolutionary energies, its spirit of sacrifice, and its ability to lead the entire people's struggle against the fascist peril that menaced Romania's sovereignty. The Communist Party's strong ties with the working class in the effort to carry out the ideals of justice, freedom and independence proved to be the lasting basis of unity of all the advanced, patriotic and progressive forces in Romanian society in the tragic times of the rise of fascism.

Employing a wide variety of characteristic ways and means, the RCP conducted an extensive campaign to bring about consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and participation of the peasants, who were about four-fifths of the population of the country, in the revolutionary actions in defense of the democratic freedoms and national independence, sovereignty and unity. It is significant that in this period the communists' efforts to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the peasant masses were subordinated to the formation of a broad antifascist battle front. To that end the Communist Party kept strengthening its collaboration with the Peasants' Front, the democratic peasants organization and also approached other political groups operating in rural areas who were interested in checking the fascist threat and defending the national interests.

The party made an intensive effort to organize the intellectuals and to enlist a large number of scientists and scholars in the People's Antifascist Front along with the workers and peasants. The communists cooperated closely with outstanding intellectuals whom they recruited for the activities of the mass organizations, wherein they could counteract the reactionary fascist ideology and contribute actively to the defense of the people's freedom in the spirit of the progressive humanistic traditions.

The party's extensive activity among the trade unions in order to involve that powerful democratic force in the great battles and demonstrations in defense of the nation's independence and integrity was one of its ways and means of uniting all the social forces opposing fascism and the war.

In the light of an original and progressive conception of youth's place and role in society, the RCP recruited the most progressive representatives of the young generation and formed the revolutionary youth organization and a number of other progressive and democratic organizations, with a special role for the Democratic Students Front, which attracted youths who cultivated patriotic ideals.

The RCP's special effort to improve its political working methods in the army, especially among the young soldiers, is also noteworthy in this connection.

Nicolae Ceausescu's firm commitment to organization and recruitment of youth for the patriotic revolutionary effort has gone down forever in the bright pages of Romanian history as the image of a tremendous activity and the characteristic part he played in strengthening the party's influence among the young generation and its unity of action against fascism in defense of Romania's integrity and independence.

The party heavily emphasized work among the masses of women to expose the reactionary nature of fascism and formed particular organizations like the Womens Front

in a continuing effort to involve more and more women in factories, the villages and the intelligentsia in the work of the democratic organizations, popular demonstrations and protests against the war and on behalf of peace and social progress.

The personality of Elena Ceausescu, a leading militant of the Romanian revolutionary movement and a staunch promoter of a high social status for women, stood out brilliantly in the political activity to recruit women for the struggle against the fascist threat and the attempts upon the peaceful life of the Romanian people.

The party also employed appropriate ways and means among the national minorities, in keeping with the historical fact, characteristic of Romania, that the Romanians had coexisted with other nationalities for centuries. The RCP's collaboration with MADOSZ [Union of Hungarian Workers in Romania] was particularly important and resulted in a number of joint actions against fascism and the war.

The Romanian people's commitment to this broad front of resistance was due to the extensive efforts of the RCP, which made a consistent effort to form a patriotic awareness, initiated an intensive exposure of fascism's ultrareactionary political and ideological substratum, explained its evil role in Romanian society, and warned that fascisms in all its manifestations would lead to a new world conflagration. The press was one of the party's chief means to this end. The communist and workers newspapers and magazines and many of the progressive and democratic publications played a vital part in this respect and helped to strengthen ties with the masses and to arouse them to battle by addressing inspired appeals to the Romanian people to rise to the defense of democracy, culture and national independence.

One of the most effective tactics in the antifascist struggle was the formation of a great many democratic organizations attracting representatives of the most varied social classes and categories such as workers, peasants, intellectuals, the petite bourgeoisie, and even some bourgeois circles interested in defending the democratic structures, independence and sovereignty of the Romanian nation. Organizations like the Labor League, the Bloc To Defend Democratic Freedoms, the Committee on Antifascists' Defense, the Democratic Union, the Union of Patriots, the Patriotic Defense et al. proved to be particularly effective original means the party used for widespread promotion of its political policy and for organization, stimulation and guidance of the antiwar and antifascist effort. Through them the Communist Party infiltrated the masses more and more deeply and acted jointly with the people in the just cause of national independence and freedom.

The RCP kept maturing in this period of great political and social difficulty. Every year it extended its influence upon Romanian affairs more and more intensively and further diversified its tactics. As the main force in the struggle against the fascist threat, it grew more and more aggressive and menacing.

The party's strategy and tactics in the 1930's also included transforming the political trials of communists and antifascists into forums for the struggle against fascism and the war and for exposing the forces attacking the nation's independence and freedom. The trial of the Brasov communists was a memorable instance of this, during which Nicolae Ceausescu asserted his high qualities as a revolutionary advocate and exposed fascism and the war emphatically, making a spirited

appeal to the working masses and the people to achieve an inseparable unity in defense of the nation.

The great antifascist and antiwar demonstrations of those years were among the particularly important methods of blocking the fascist threat, and they brought out the working class' strength and capacity for revolutionary action, completely confirmed the political strategy of the United Workers Front and of the worker-peasant alliance that the Communist Party was promoting, and emphasized the need for the Romanian people to close their ranks in defense of their vital interests in a broad and impressive national consensus.

The great demonstrations on 1 May 1939 in Bucharest and other national centers bore brilliant testimony to the confirmed unity in the struggle of the working class and all the patriotic, democratic and antifascist revolutionary forces. The first of May 1939 went down in the nation's history as a masterful illustration of the fervent patriotism and revolutionary spirit that inspired the whole Romanian soul.

Nicolae Ceausescu had a critical part to play in the organization and management of this memorable event.. A tried revolutionary, an eminent communist militant trained in the heat of the battles against fascism, and an inspired patriot, he gave proof at this important point in Romanian history of his profound understanding of the necessities facing the Romanian people and of his boundless dedication to the cause of Romania's freedom, peace and independence.

Among the revolutionary militants who prepared for this stirring antifascist and antiwar demonstration a vital part was played by Elena Ceausescu, a valued daughter of the Romanian working class who has devoted her whole life to the cause of the party and the Romanian people.

Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu, who were also noted for their ingenuity in promoting the forms and methods and the ways and means of fighting in the struggle against fascism and the war and in defense of the nation's integrity, played a major role in the party's general efforts to develop its strategy and tactics in the troubled history of the 1930's. The work they did together within the party and the Union of Communist Youth in trade unions and other mass organizations to start and organize political, social and cultural actions and to enlist broad categories of workers in the People's Antifascist Front has gone down forever in the memory of the time.

The great antifascist and antiwar revolutionary actions in Romania in the 1930's conveyed to progressive world public opinion the picture of a people deeply devoted to the ideals of national independence and freedom and of international collaboration and peace.

In the following period the Communist Party adjusted its strategy and tactics and ways and means of combat to the new conditions of Hitlerite aggression, namely a serious attack upon Romania's integrity via the odious Dictate of Vienna. The RCP mobilized the entire people for the struggle, organized big mass demonstrations in all national centers, and addressed a stirring patriotic appeal to the communists and all urban and rural workers to defend the nation's existence by force of arms.

In the period of the military-fascist dictatorship, the party further consolidated working class unity and the alliance with the working peasantry and the intelligentsia and conducted an extensive mass campaign mobilizing the entire Romanian people's revolutionary energies in order to organize a powerful anti-Hitlerite resistance in the most difficult years of modern Romanian history, which took the form of demonstrations, strikes and acts of sabotage against the Hitlerite war machine and formation of patriotic units to fight the invaders. All this opposition reflected hatred of the Hitlerite war and the resolve to be free of fascist rule.

Leading the struggle to liquidate the military-fascist dictatorship, expel the Hitlerite troops, and liberate Romania, the RCP united all the patriotic and progressive forces in the country, collaborated with democratic political groups and organizations, with the army command and with patriotic officers and generals, and established connections with the palace and the circles around it and with a number of political, scientific and cultural figures. All these ways and means of concluding broad political alliances resulted in the formation of the Anti-Hitlerite Patriotic Front in 1943 and the United Workers Front and the National Democratic Bloc in 1944.

As the historical facts indicate, the formation of the United Workers Front in April 1944 between the RCP and the Social-Democratic Party was the foundation upon which a system of viable and efficient political alliances could be built with the active cooperation of all the democratic, patriotic and antifascist forces of the entire people for purposes of the decisive assault that was to be made upon the military-fascist dictatorship and Nazi German rule in the armed insurrection of 23 August 1944.

The Antifascist and Anti-imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation figures in the nation's history as a turning point inaugurating a new era. The great victory in August 1944 permitted Romania's steady advance on the path of socialism, a new and free existence, and national sovereignty and independence.

Under the new historical conditions after 23 August 1944 the RCP made full use of the experience it acquired in its underground years, when upon its inspired appeal millions of people, workers, peasants, intellectuals, representatives of the democratic and progressive organizations and political, scientific and cultural figures, took part in the revolutionary opposition to the war and to fascism in defense of national independence and freedom. Of course the party's objectives were different now and called for a new strategy and corresponding tactics. From the first moments after the great historic act of 23 August 1944 the RCP deployed a vast political and organizational effort in the course of acquisition and consolidation of political power by the working class in alliance with the working peasantry and progressive intelligentsia and in the course of the radical reforms that have completely changed the whole socioeconomic structure of the country and the entire course of the Romanian people's lives. Intensive development of the productive forces has been provided for, as well as the creation of a modern industry, cooperativization and development of the technical-material base of agriculture, construction of the unified socialist economy, faster growth of the national income, and further improvement of the entire people's welfare. On this lasting basis, innovations have been made in the social structure and exploitation of man by man has been eliminated forever. The definitive victory

In the years since the Ninth Party Congress, the most successful period in all Romanian history, radical changes have been made by way of improvement of social relations and development of the productive forces, the national economy has been increasingly modernized, the steady progress of science, education, culture and all socioeconomic activities has been assured, and the entire people's material and cultural living standards have been greatly improved. The fact has gone down in Romanian history forever that all the great political, social and economic changes that have taken place in Romanian society in the last two decades are essentially associated with the name of Nicolae Ceausescu, the founder of modern Romania.

The Romania of today is the outcome of the RCP's revolutionary struggle of more than 60 years. The party devised the socialist revolution and prudently marked out its course through the years and decades, committing itself with its whole being to its accomplishment, and it has been leading millions and millions of people along this path of light, hopes and certainties. The entire people are now following the party and its secretary general, clearly aware of what they have to do and resolved to work tirelessly to raise Romania to the highest peaks of socialist civilization and progress.

By constantly strengthening itself, raising its ideological standards and developing its organizing power the party best performs its historic mission and its role as the vital center of all society and the spur to all of socialist Romania's creative energies.

Both the party's strategy and its courses of action in the present period depend heavily upon its advanced, revolutionary concept of the entire people's participation in social management. Leadership with the people and for the people is no mere theoretical principle but a truth deeply rooted in the nation's entire socioeconomic activity.

In Nicolae Ceausescu's view, socialist Romania's all-around progress calls for full commitment of all the nation's energies under the party's wise leadership and better application of the people's spirit of initiative, innovating thought and creativeness to an extensive effort toward exemplary fulfillment of all tasks of this year and the whole 5-year plan and complete implementation of the programs for Romania's present and future socioeconomic development.

While making a decisive contribution to the enrichment of the heritage of revolutionary thought with new ideas and views on the stages of social development, the party secretary general emphasized the principle of the entire people's participation in state administration and in solving all the nation's problems. As he pointed out, "No socialist system is conceivable without the widest democracy for all workers. The very fact that socialism does away with private ownership of the production means and unequal distribution of the social product and national income and guarantees equal rights for all workers and the opportunity for free assertion of everyone's ability and personality makes it possible to achieve the widest democracy that mankind has ever known." Increasingly effective forms of popular participation in social management have been promoted on this basis while the party and its secretary general take a keen interest in broadening workers democracy and enriching scientific socialism and the revolutionary theory with new ideas about the party and society, the state, the

place and role of the nation and national minorities in construction of the new society, and the roles of the masses and personalities in history. Special emphasis has been and still is placed on improved social organization and management, wherein an important part is played by the new economic-financial mechanism, continuing development of economic democracy, and the efficiency of the democratic administrative organs in all activities.

The party's complete identification with the aspirations of the working class, all workers and the people as a whole is the source of the great achievements in the nearly two decades since the Ninth Party Congress. In all these years of notable progress due to consistent application of the party policy the unity of all the social classes and strata that make up the Romanian socialist system has become increasingly strong. Meanwhile the ranks of the working class, the leading class of society, have grown steadily and the roles of the peasantry and intelligentsia in the nation's economic and social activity have become more and more important. Youth, a powerful social force and the very future of the nation as they are defined in the RCP Program, have been accorded a social status that they have never enjoyed before. Thanks to the direct efforts of the party and its secretary general, the functions of the trade unions, youth and womens organizations and the other public organizations in society have been enhanced on the basis of the new revolutionary changes. Collaboration, friendship and solidarity have been developed among all workers in socialist Romania regardless of nationality. The Socialist Unity and Democracy Front, the most extensive and representative body of Romanian revolutionary democracy and a result of the radical changes made in the nation's social structure and of the pronounced leveling of all classes and categories of workers, guarantees the entire people's active participation in the solution of socioeconomic problems and in social management under party leadership.

The unity of the party and people has a lasting foundation built step by step in the whole 63 years of the party's struggle and labor and throughout the years of socialist revolution and construction, and it has been strongly consolidated since the Ninth Party Congress. The staunch unity of all workers around the party and its secretary general graphically reflects the strength of a people living in freedom in a free country based upon complete cohesion of interests, aims, aspirations and will to act, and it is the great motive force of socialist Romania's continuing prosperity.

Romania's present achievements and its confidence in a bright communist future are based upon the whole Romanian people's will to consistently carry out the party programs and upon the conviction that the united labor of all Romanian citizens regardless of nationality is the most precious national wealth, the foundation of all the revolutionary changes in Romanian society, and the decisive factor for the prosperity of the entire Romanian socialist nation.

The great lesson of history, which teaches us that imperialism, fascism and war-mongers must be opposed by the united strength of all peoples, imparts the essential idea that the highest duty now is to make every effort to defend the fundamental right to socioeconomic development and to life. In the spirit of the lessons of the past, the Romanian people have actively participated in the powerful peace movements in Europe and other continents and have been militating for disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, and for a lasting peace throughout the world.

Recalling the progressive traditions of its historic past, the whole Romanian socialist nation, closely united around the party and its secretary general, views the future with confidence and is fully convinced that it can secure the further material and cultural development of Romanian society and the welfare of the entire people.

The Romanian people are greeting the two great events of national significance, namely the 40th anniversary of Romania's freedom and the 13th Party Congress, with great new victories in economic and social construction assuring Romania's continued rise to new levels of socialist civilization and progress.

Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant work at the head of the party and nation and the shining example of patriotism, self-sacrifice and dedication to the cause of socialism and communism set throughout his life in his 50 years and more of revolutionary activity are an inspired incentive to the entire Romanian people to act in close unity and with a high sense of social and political responsibility to completely fulfill the historic mission they have undertaken to build the fully developed socialist society in Romania.

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ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU'S VIEWS ON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY HAILED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10, 25 May 84 pp 10-12

/Article by Dumitru Popescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, rector of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy: "Why the Communists?"

/Text/ During the rise and brief rule of the Iron Guard and Antonescu's dictatorship there was an extensive opposition in Romania, more or less open and more or less silent, but of all its components none had such a complete, sound and keen antifascist perception as the RCP did. This was because the Communist Party was at the exactly opposite pole from morbid love of aggression, oppression, irrational religious obscurantism, chauvinism, racism and adulation of the infernal Nazi machine and the holocaust ideology that supported it. The people reacted unfavorably to fascism immediately on grounds of common sense, inherent humanity, and reason. The working strata could not subscribe to a political movement based on a gun or to the cause of war when just two decades before they had lost nearly a million victims in the great world conflagration. The intelligentsia, most of whom were inspired with liberal ideals, could not espouse a credo and a social program aimed at abolition of the freedom of the individual. Nor could any bourgeois economic and political circles applaud obstruction of the democratic parliamentary mechanism and economic subordination of Romania to a totalitarian power that did not deal in a spirit of confidence and mutual benefit but from positions of strength. As we know even among the military there were personalities mature enough to resist the temptation of the gamble and a psychosis of conquest and to see the reckless illusions in the overblown plans of the Axis in which we were involved. And so there was widespread disaffection and hostility to the rise of the extreme right in Romania. We cannot overlook in this account the better minds that saw a national disaster and the end of the trail. Fear of the future dominated minds except of course for the power centers in a state of both criminal and infantile euphoria. In this dark and contradictory picture of the period the RCP was not a broad political mass organization, for a number of objective and subjective reasons explained in the documents of the last 20 years, but it was the only center of resistance that not only was disciplined, having well-correlated cells of conspirators, and ruled by the spirit of self-sacrifice but also fully and exactly understood the direction of the social upheavals from the national to the worldwide scale and integrated the former with the latter. It was a party with a coherent social-political theory, explaining its history on grounds of objective determinism.

The working class, the chief protesters, were vehement in their instinct for justice and courageous to the point of temerity. They had often given proof of their revolutionary inclinations, some of which were inherently antifascist. While in 1929, at Lupeni, they had pointed out the beginning of the economic crisis and the political one as well, in 1933 the working class opposed the ruthless bourgeois class selfishness that was blind even to the transactions to alienate the nation's resources and, in a spectacular deployment of forces, sounded the alarm against the danger of radicalization of the bourgeois system and its degeneration into aberrant forms. For that was the year when Hitler's savage and vengeful bands were taking over greater Germany after the previous fascistization of the governments of Hungary, Italy, Portugal and Bulgaria. Was it dramatic political insight, impulsive international solidarity, or a far-sighted comprehension of the evil that was being ushered into their own country? Probably all of those. It is sufficient to know that Grivita and Valea Prahovei went down in the history of the first half of the 20th century as the first mass uprising of the proletariat against the rise of European fascism.

Today we are celebrating the act of the workers' will in 1939. One wonders if it was another premonition, because we were soon to have the Iron Guard government, and then the military dictatorship that concluded "the pact with the devil" was to be inaugurated at the helm of the country. And events were moving swiftly in the West. Hitler had occupied Czechoslovakia and Mussolini Albania, while the German tanks were merely awaiting the word to pounce upon Poland. Under these tragic circumstances the action of 1 May 1939 was organized in the name of unity between communists and socialists, and it was one of the most impressive and significant international workers demonstrations against fascism. We find the incumbent president of Romania in the demonstration of protest and warning as an organizer. A peasant by birth, a proletarian by occupational status, an intellectual by virtue of his effort to surpass himself, as he described himself on the occasion of the anniversary, and a revolutionary by inclination and conscience, Nicolae Ceausescu takes his place in the history of the Romanian workers movement as an impassioned, peerless and unrelenting antifascist from his earliest youth.

We have noted these few instances not with any pretension to outline the glorious history of the Romanian proletariat but as a reminder that it was the main antifascist force in Romania. But it could not have been entirely capable of the mission without a brain, a stimulus and a guide. Let us not forget that the proletariat was divided in its political affiliation and that large parts of it were outside the party's structures and influence. Hence also the particular value of the achievement, in the spring of 1944, of the communists' collaboration with the social-democrats in the United Workers Front, the nucleus of the great national democratic, patriotic and antifascist movement that overthrew the fascist military dictatorship and secured the victory of the insurrection.

The peasants were in the majority of society and, imbued with an ancestral aversion to brutal force and especially to senseless bloodshed, were showing signs of resistance. But they were frightened by the events, politics were becoming increasingly difficult to understand, the memory of the 1907 massacre was fresh, and the iron grip of the royal dictatorship, and then Antonescu's, was relentlessly closing in. They could be influenced only by a clear judgment capable of examining the prospects, presenting the possible options, and predicting the social future.

The progressive intellectuals, horrified by the "apostolate" of hate and violence, also uttered some distinct cries of protest and great artists and scholars bravely risked their freedom. But this class could not in itself be the shock force of the action and was not part of the avantgarde. It needed the example of confrontation of oppression in cold blood as well as a methodical analysis of the national and international balance of power.

Nor could the antifascist military alone plan a coup d'etat under the German military quasi-occupation, however courageous they were, to say nothing of the historical parties, which were confused, cowardly, self-eclipsed and incapable of assuming any political responsibility.

And so it was the Communist Party's duty to shoulder the main responsibility for the great national imperatives. It is to its credit that it voluntarily undertook this task despite some appalling difficulties and did all it could within the possibilities of the existing circumstances. It operated illegally from clandestine headquarters, in legal circles wherein it could be camouflaged, in cells and camps, and in the armed forces, where it succeeded in establishing a bridgehead. It acted first to foster the will to fight, to keep alive the flame of resistance, to further dissatisfaction, to give it precisely outlined and logical grounds, to convert it to indignation, and then to convert indignation to action. And second, it acted to contact the centers of resistance and harmonize their interests as far as possible, to be sure, by constantly emphasizing the vital national interest and appealing to patriotism as the supreme bond of a people who had to play a trump card. And finally it acted to make the warning beat upon the eardrums of the oligarchy, to announce the fateful ending and to shake the complacency of the authorities.

It was the period when the party gained adherents in all categories because it was identified with the nation's immediate interests, not abstractly, theoretically or by slogans but by prompt, direct and resounding actions. Accordingly the communists sent troops from their ranks to anti-Franco Spain, they appealed to the masses to oppose the invader of Czechoslovakia, and when Romania was victimized by the Dictate of Vienna due to some states' policy of appeasement and compromise toward the boundless insolence of the Axis, the communists asked for arms to shed their blood in defense of North Transylvania. They also cried out loudly that Romania's place was not with the Nazi hordes but in the alliance of democratic states, not against but with the Soviet Union. People of sound mind realized that this would have been the proper course of Romanian history and that the position and actions of the Communist Party were in complete agreement with the national interests.

If it had not held all the trump cards we mentioned, namely flexible organizational structures, a developed political conception, courage and far-sightedness, how would the numerically small Communist Party have succeeded in mobilizing such a broad spectrum of scattered forces, some having nothing in common, others being basic rivals, and including anticommunist groups? How would it have budged the deliberately rigid mechanism of the bourgeois parties and mobilized military circles up to the highest echelons? How would it have succeeded in approaching the palace and making the king negotiate with a communist militant, in having the dictator arrested and turned over to the party, in starting hostilities against the German troops, and in negotiating the armistice with the USSR through its representatives?

It was under such tragic circumstances that the cruelly persecuted Communist Party became the heart of the Romanian nation, by virtue of the far-sightedness of its fighters, its persevering and flexible action, its spirit of sacrifice and, above all, its position on the necessary, objective course of history. How often have courageous groups who understood the laws of evolution failed to change the face of the world? Applied to socialism and phrased differently, it is what Archimedes, the ancient master of the theory of levers, meant when he asked for a point of support in order to move the world.

To the great world antifascist coalition the RCP was the guarantee of Romania's participation with all its armed forces and its entire economic potential to the defeat of the German war machine, and to the exhausted, starved, grieving and impaired Romanian people it was the general staff of restoration, renovation, democratization and, in the very near future, socialist revolution. Supporting the front, purging society of fascist remnants, and establishing the people's democratic regime made it necessary to mobilize all that the people had in their ranks that was better, more purposeful and more enthusiastic, just as immobilizing, annihilating and defeating the political reaction did. In turn the expropriation of the expropriators, the vital act of the revolution, and the acquisition of all political and economic power were to find the proletariat united, perfectly organized, fully informed as to what they had to do, and resolved to take up the chief burden of the incipient effort to raise Romania from its ruins and place society on a new basis diametrically opposed to the previous one.

To be sure the accomplishment of these amazingly difficult, complex and radical objectives was facilitated by the favorable circumstance of the alliance with the USSR and the presence of the Red Army on its territory. But the uprising from the depths of an entire nation, the exodus of the masses into the streets, the capture of the public institutions and organs of state power by assault, and the trend toward voluntary enlistment, either to conquer or die on the plains of Transylvania, the Hungarian steppe or the mountains of Czechoslovakia or to cut paths through rocks with picks, all that required the party's complete penetration of the many strata of the country, winning over consciences and wills and securing loyalty to the battle for progress.

It is well known that any great social cause or any revolution finds its opportunity for success in winning over youth, the most receptive, liberal and the most vital and flexible segment of a people. We cannot mention the merits of the Communist Party in uniting and involving the strong renovating trends in society without high praise for its success in animating the young generation in the years after the liberation. As we know Nicolae Ceausescu, who headed the youth organization at the time, it is not difficult to understand the reasons for that decisive political victory. Revolutionary enthusiasm, revolutionary romanticism, fervent sincerity, plain if bitter truth, and selfless patriotic spirit are the "secret weapons" with which the Romanian president of today mobilized the flower of the nation.* That generation is old now, but he won not only them with his magic spells but also the following ones and the entire people as well for the two decades that he has been chief of the party and state. After 23 August 1944 he inspired youth with his powerful, volcanic personality and at the close of a duller period (when the party was big and strong and in power but no longer had the same appeal because it did not always find the necessary tone or lines of communication and contact), when he was summoned to the country's bridge of command, he communicated his magnetic energy and contagious excitement to all society.

*To battle in the maelstrom of those years.

Who does not know that there was a veritable national renaissance in Romania after 1965, or that the Communist Party, regaining its strength from the leaven of the people, hearkening to the whispers of the many, correcting the errors and distortions, remedying violations, and breaking down the barriers erected by inertia, sectarianism or suspicion, rebuilt and consolidated the unity of all the new social classes and categories and the cohesion of Romanian society on new and lasting grounds. Because it spoke the truth without reticence however bitter or hard it might be, because it understood, expressed and defended the masses' aspirations, because it became the standard bearer of the nation's vital interests, and because it provided a new, noble, humanistic and exalted view of socialism in keeping with the individual seen as a complete and free being desirous of fulfillment -- for all these and many more reasons the party under the communist Nicolae Ceausescu's leadership regained the full confidence of the people, surrounded itself with them like a wall, and became the vital center of the nation, both giving and receiving energy and light.

The party and its secretary general had quite a few difficulties to face as full representatives of Romania. They had to refuse to allow Romania to become an agrarian hinterland and explain convincingly that rapid development of a particular economy is incompatible with its direction by supernational bodies, that democratization of social relations does not endanger socialism, that there can be no hierarchy in the international workers movement because the parties are equal and that differences of opinion must not be sanctioned in any way, that unity can be accomplished only in diversity, that national sovereignty is a sacred possession that cannot be negotiated and impairs the interests of solidarity in absolutely no way but on the contrary protects and serves them, and that a dynamic, independent foreign policy is both a right and an obligation of a peaceful socialist country like Romania. Those principled and firm stands have been enthusiastically supported by all social strata, they have considerably enhanced the party's prestige and authority and made it an uncontested representative and fierce defender of the destinies of the people, and they have made the party leader a national hero.

The charter of Romanian socialism, the Party Program, defining as its main goal Romania's evolution on all levels of modern civilization and a worthy, active and effective presence in the high court of nations, was unanimously accepted by the entire nation. And how could it be otherwise when it expresses the highest ideal of the nation's history?

It is the Romanian people's ambition to combine their forces, strengthen their potentials and apply their enthusiasm so that they will take their place in the world competition of work, creation and thought and the fruits of their labor will be as valuable, inspired and perfect as those of the leading nations. That is no idle ambition but a matter of life and death, for anyone who cannot or does not know how to apply his intelligence to volume and quality of goods, or to a selective abundance obtained at lowest possible cost, is condemned to backwardness, poverty and suffering.

The Romanian people have been given the opportunity to create, improve and further develop a higher type of economic, political and social democracy for themselves, a fundamental, tangible democracy that can assure them that they are masters of their own fate and of all the nation's resources, that the power flows from their will and interests, and that both the present and the future are and shall be "as they wish it," as the president of the republic prefers to phrase it.

The Romanian people are inspired with the desire to keep pace with the amazing development of the sciences and the explosion of knowledge. They are instructed for this purpose in a broad and comprehensive educational system that has to be irreproachable in its performance, consistently exacting, arduous, efficient and modern in both theory and practice, for otherwise they risk losing access to a vast store of contemporary secrets that determine both man's rational transformation of nature and the evolution of man himself. Romania's enlightened minds enable us to give no less than others to the world's scientific thought.

The Romanian people, with their well-known sensitivity, are profoundly reflective by nature, and they are being encouraged to create a humanistic culture for themselves that can attack the great questions of collective and individual existence and an art that can stimulate man's awareness with profound truths and the power of aesthetic emotion and help him look deeply within himself and understand and perfect himself.

The Romanian people are offered the opportunity to create for themselves a new, ethical, principled and humane, pure and flexible civilization and to embrace the rule of respect for the individual, the creed of honesty and honor, and mutual aid and understanding among all members of society.

It is the Communist Party's mission in the new historical period to organize this great work of the Romanian people for themselves. It is a moving task by nature but it must be rational as well, and to that end Nicolae Ceausescu keeps warning against self-satisfaction, complacency, the spirit of ostentation, empty braggadocio, and arrogant conceit. It is also a romantic task by nature but primarily a revolutionary one, that is a battle with routine, obtuseness and conservative subjectivism, confrontation with objective and subjective difficulties, avoidance of serious mistakes, regular and prompt correction of defects and bad situations, and sound resolution of the contradictions and people's needs and desires.

The party secretary general has told us how to regard and secure citizens' participation in management so as to obtain the desired effect, namely by lending real content to all the democratic structures wherein decisions are made, heeding the word of the masses not pro forma but with due care and respect, encouraging public criticism and being receptive to it, honoring and promoting the true values and relying upon them, discouraging demagoguery, hypocrisy and opportunism in public affairs, and cultivating competence, diligence, sincerity and modesty as basic traits of communist morality. That is the light in which the RCP and its secretary general regard unification and stimulation of the people's forces to make the progress of socialist society possible.

And finally, the Romanian nation is mobilized to fulfill its ancestral bent in pioneering for international peace and friendship. To that end it is vehemently protesting against the policy of the absurd, the suicidal escalation of the military nuclear race, and steadfastly opposing the irrational propensity for confrontation, which appears to be inevitable but is only the expression of the irrational thinking of some of the world's potentates. Through their administration and their most authorized representative, the president of Romania, the Romanian people are unalterably opposing those forces, who are more or less like the incendiaries in World War II who forgot the lessons of history and drove

mankind to the brink, as well as the exponents of all trends of thought that foster hatred and the principle of brutal force like fascist ideology and disregard the freedom and independence of the nations and the inalienable rights of man and the peoples as well as the ideal of peaceful coexistence.

Through their president the Romanian people are playing their role as disseminators of common sense, logic and wisdom as they enter the great world arena armed with the weapon of the word.

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DATA GIVEN ON POLITICAL CRIME IN 1982, 1983

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jun 84 p 16

[Article by D. Kabadajic: "Political Crime--Open File, Defendants for Political Crime Represent Only 0.39 Percent of All Criminal Defendants in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Our public has known for a long time that in the campaigns against Yugoslavia and its socialist self-management system (from abroad and internally) anything goes. Manipulations and speculations are using unhesitatingly everything and anything, but the favorite refrain seems to be the themes of freedom and of human rights.

Without pretensions to enter into a "dialogue" with such "opinions" or to peek in other people's houses and be reminded of what is cooking in their kitchens, we are going to use data from the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office about political crime in the year 1983 sent recently to the SFRY Assembly in its regular yearly report of activities.

From Complaints to the Verdict

Briefly, according to the criminal code of our country, political crimes are all (nefarious) acts directed against the foundations of the socialist self-management social order and against the security of the SFRY, as well as actions offensive to the reputation of Yugoslavia. Criminal laws of the republics and provinces supplement this "list" to contain also: Spreading of false reports, misuse of religion and the church for political purposes, offending the reputation of republics and provinces, and ridiculing ethnic groups and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Public prosecutors received last year complaints against 820 people suspected of political crimes, to which should be added also the remaining unsolved cases from 1982 (see Table 1). After careful sifting, the complaints against 223 citizens were dismissed, inquiry was warranted against 446 accused, resulting in 138 direct indictments.

Table 1

Comparative data on the number of accused persons in the years 1983 and 1982, by republics and provinces

<u>Socialist Republic (SR) and Socialist Autonomous Province (SAP)</u>	<u>Number of accused persons</u>	
	<u>1983</u>	<u>1982</u>
Bosnia and Hercegovina	104	89
Montenegro	26	21
Croatia	210	199
Macedonia	26	52
Slovenia	54	70
Serbia without Soc. Auton Provinces:	162	116
Vojvodina	17	22
Kosovo	<u>221</u>	<u>292</u>
Total in SFRY	820	861

It must be mentioned at this point that the high percentage of dismissed accusations was mainly the result of citizen's "lower instincts." To wit, personal feuds often lead to criminal complaints described as "fomenting national hatred"), although the actual conflicts are not related to it. The complaints submitted by organs of internal affairs, however, are as a rule corroborated by the evidence and, based on it, criminal proceedings are immediately initiated.

Last year, investigations were conducted against 608 persons (including the unsolved cases from 1982), and were completed for 466 of them: 407 citizens were indicted; prosecution was stopped in 59 insignificant cases. Consequently, there remained 545 persons indicted (Table 2). Criminal activities due to Albanian nationalism and irredentism, however, accounted for 41.8 percent of all people indicted for political crimes in Yugoslavia.

Table 2

Number of persons accused in 1983, by republics and provinces

<u>SR AND SAP</u>	<u>Accused Persons</u>	<u>Percentage of all accused in SFRY</u>	<u>Comparison with the year 1982</u>
B&H (Bosnia and Hercegovina)	96	17.6	56 more persons
Montenegro	21	3.9	4 " "
Croatia	138	25.3	64 " "
Macedonia	15	2.8	34 fewer "
Slovenia	28	5.1	7 more "
Serbia without Soc. Auton. Provinces:	67	12.3	7 " "
Vojvodina	5	0.9	6 fewer "
Kosovo	<u>175</u>	<u>32.1</u>	<u>69</u> " "
Total in SFRY	545	100.0	29 more persons

Another curiosity in the analysis of indictments is related to so-called verbal offenses. It is interesting that most people (416) were indicted for these offenses broken down into: Enemy propaganda (162); provoking national hatred (149); offending the reputation of the SFRY (98); spreading false reports (7).

Looking at it from another angle, it is noted that prosecutors dealt mostly with people whose offenses were considered more serious criminal offenses (311), followed by those accused for most serious political crimes (129), while the smallest number were those indicted for lesser criminal offenses (105). The social breakdown of those indicted is given in Table 3.

Table 3.

Social composition of persons indicted for political crimes

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number</u>		<u>Percentage</u>
Workers (in broadest sense)	262	or	48.1
Students-pupils	97	"	17.8
Farmers	65	"	11.9
Intellectuals	59	"	10.8
Retired	20	"	3.7
Craftsmen	8	"	1.5
Other	<u>34</u>	"	6.2
Total	545		

Finally, let us mention that verdicts were rendered in court of the first instance against 520 defendants. Of those, 491 were found guilty, 21 were acquitted and the charges were dismissed for 8.

Inexact Numbers

When considering the dimensions of criminality, however, the available data should be approached with some reservations due to so-called inexact numbers. These represent the difference between [the number of] those apprehended for such criminal acts and those who have not been identified, and we can but speculate about them on the basis of indirect and unreliable indicators. It is also necessary to keep in mind that the area for enemy action has been getting smaller, inducing many "chameleons" to change their color or go into hiding. This is especially characteristic for the irredentism in Kosovo which continues its scheming after going underground.

Also contributing to inexact numbers are errors in judgment by the organs of internal affairs. In some areas they request the judges for misdemeanors to open administrative-infraction proceedings against those whose actions fall within the category of political crime. Such cases were particularly noted in several places in Kosovo, forcing public prosecutors to review periodically misdemeanor court dockets to identify such cases and redirect them to the criminal prosecution procedure.

The presented facts seem to illuminate sufficiently this particularly sensitive area of criminality. Because of it, the work of the authorities that are most exposed on this front are also measured by a different yardstick. Aware of this, federal republic, and provincial prosecutors have tried to establish cooperatively more uniform criteria to the extent that this is possible in application of the law. In addition to that, the Federal Prosecutors's Office has monitored all the more significant cases and extended their help where it was necessary.

This working method and increased efficiency in upholding the laws have certainly contributed to the stagnation in political criminality in the last 2 years.

Because of this, many have understood that this is a serious business. This also explains partly why the number of those indicted for political crimes is only 0.39 percent of those indicted for all criminal acts in Yugoslavia.

12711
CSO: 2800/358

DECLINING SIGNIFICANCE OF MEDALS, DECORATIONS ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVEN NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1744, 3 Jun 84
pp 10-11

[Article by Milan Milosevic: "The Best or the Proposed"]

[Text] Are medals, gold medallions, honorary degrees losing their luster? Are there subscribers to rewards? Which social groups have the largest number of receivers of honors? Why are medals no longer worn at gala occasions?

There is a joke ascribed to Dusko Radovic: Not the best people receive honors, but those who have been proposed. The occasions to talk about social recognition have been festive so far. Until recently on such festive occasions the glare of publicity were turned with some irony more on those who awarded honors than to those who received them. There were news items which said that such-and-such an official (whose first and family names were given) received the winners of social awards (whose names were not mentioned).

The occasions for talking about social recognition are somewhat different now. There is a higher number of objections which indicate that one should examine the mechanism of this type of social stimulation. One such occasion was provided recently by the Belgrade Chamber of Economy, which has not awarded its May awards which have for years been given to the most successful labor organizations. After several discussions in the Chamber of Economy one could reduce the explanation of this unusual procedure to one simple sentence: Criteria for giving this award are so broad that anybody can get it. Another expression of this attitude is the remark of "somebody from the people" who said in bus no 26, overcrowded and stifling: "Who gave you the decoration for service to the people?"

This enterprise was really given the decoration for service to the people. Now one can expect a similar remark in the trains, too. The railway company has been given a medal too. There have been other, more controversial examples. The public is frequently upset by the fact that many who end miserably had received high recognition: The FOB enterprise, which went bankrupt in 1982, was given the Medal of Labor with Red Banner in 1977. The medal given to Dr Medenica is another story, a story which contributes to the devaluation of the prestige of social awards.

As NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA has reported, at a regional veterans' symposium on decorations in Dalmatia late last year the case of some people from Split was mentioned. These people received medals from the chairman of the Presidency in Belgrade, and upon their arrival in Split were arrested and later sentenced after a trial that shook this city. The period between the moment an award is proposed and the moment it is given is frequently long, so that circumstances can change. Frequently, however, such turns show that there is privatization in the sector of social awards, as well as in other sectors. Recently in Belgrade, people and the press talked about a director who was proposed for a significant social award by his collective, but ended up in jail.

Subscribers

The veterans from Dalmatia at the above-mentioned meeting, as NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA reports, also mentioned with unconcealed pleasure these phenomena of privatization according to the system of "three comrades setting up a commission, nominating a fourth one and parting their ways." This is certainly not a Dalmatian peculiarity.

This meeting of Dalmatian veterans brought up one more witty remark: "Some people think that medals are newspapers and get subscribed to them!" One report of the Belgrade Assembly Commission for Medals contains a similar statement: There is a large number of proposals to give medals to those who already have 5 or 6 of them. The same statement is contained in a material of the Presidency of the Republican Conference of Serbian SSRN of a few years ago.

It is also interesting that this text contains the telling sentence that most decorated people do not wear their medals on festive occasions. This text explains it by the modesty of the decorated persons. Other observers sometimes take it as an indication that medals have lost some of their prestige. At the Dalmatian meeting the proposal was voiced that carrying wearing medals on festive occasions should be mandatory.

In short, the awarding of medals and other social recognitions seems to be characterized by a lack of system, a great variety of criteria, and a tendency to increase the number and the kinds of awards in specific milieus.

There have been various attempts to democratize at least the nomination for social awards, on the one hand, and on the other hand, to give to the awards some of the luster they are supposed to have.

It seems that in our country the devaluation of material awards, which led to the leveling on the general social level, has been accompanied by inflation in the area of this official moral stimulation.

Tales of symbolic decorations are as old as our civilization. According to Herodotus, after the victory over the Persians Themistocles received from the Spartans a public recognition, an olive wreath, and--the best carriage

in Sparta. In Rome, after Marius Gaius, presents of a symbolic character were worn in full sight on the sleeves, around the neck, or on the shield. This is regarded as the first form of medals.

Medals were given names by the knightly orders. They appeared in the 15th century. Until the 17th century they were awarded to high nobility, and gave to the bearer the right to a title and privileges. It is interesting that almost all the revolutions abolished the medals of the previous regimes. The French Revolution abolished previous decorations by decree in 1791, and in 1802 the order of the Legion of Honor was established following a proposal by Napoleon Bonaparte. After the coup of 1903 in Serbia the Cross of Takovo was abolished, and the Karadjordjevic Cross established. The October Revolution abolished the St George Cross and introduced the Order of the Red Flag in 1918. The title Hero of the Soviet Union and Lenin's Order were introduced as the highest honors in 1939, when the Patriotic War began.

The first beginnings of our new state were also marked by the establishment of new orders. The Order of People's Hero was established on 15 August 1943. In late November 1944 the Presidency of AVNOJ gave this order to about 2,000 soldiers of the People's Liberation Army. Some people will take this figure as a proof that today, when there are far fewer feats, many more decorations are awarded. Among the proposals there are hardly any descriptions of feats now. Just the characteristics.

Our country issues 41 decorations (35 orders, 6 medals). Up to 1963, 27,500 Memorials 1941 were issued. The bearers of the Memorial 1941 are entitled to health insurance, pension supplement, regular monthly monetary payment, privileges in transportation. Other orders which entitle their bearers to privileges are the Orders of the People's Hero, Karadjordjevic's Star with Swords, White Eagle with Swords, and Montenegrin Gold Obilic Medal, established in 1851. The bearers of the "State Award," AVNOJ Award, and republican awards (in Serbia it is the 7 July Award) can count on a few points more when they want to obtain the national pension as deserving citizens. The other decorations have no material support, and the other social awards--medallions, diplomas--more often than not entail just one symbolic monetary gift. According to some statistics, 1,800,000 decorations have been given since the war. There is however no record of the awards, diplomas and medallions, and they are numerous.

On the Pensioner's Chest

Are these forms of social recognition reserved for certain segments of our society only? There are indications that they are. The sociologist Gojko Stanic in his study "Membership Movement as an Important Indicator of the Revolutionary Success of the SK" brings up some facts which, on the Slovenian sample, illustrate our theme too. It is true that Stanic analyzes only the members of the League of Communists, and the "most awarded" category among them are the pensioners, long-time members of the SK. Only 16 percent of them have not been decorated. At the opposite pole of this table there are blue collar workers (83 percent of the SK members in this category have no decorations), and together with them professionals and artists employed in

the production of material goods (88 percent). Foremen and officials outside the production of material goods are in a category which receives more decorations--only 41 percent of SK members in this social group have not been decorated, according to Stanic's research.

A similar conclusion can be reached on the basis of the data contained in the statistics of the Commission on Decorations and Social Recognitions of the Belgrade Assembly.

There has not been a single proposal in the last 2 years in Belgrade to decorate somebody under 30 years old.

In Split, almost half of the people proposed for decoration were of retirement age. In Belgrade in the last 2 years the ratio between people proposed for decoration who are employed in industry and those who are retired was 325:339.

The chairman of the Commission for Social Recognition of Serbian SSRN, Vita Petkovic, points out that some changes have started to take place. The process of proposing people for awards and decorations is being democratized, and a larger proportion of farmers, high production achievers, and basic producers among receivers of awards can be noticed. This, however, is not enough. Otherwise, the award issued by the SSRN (a plaque with a letter) is most frequently received by the activists in the Socialist Alliance, which is often the only way to give some people recognition for their social activities, Mr Petkovic said.

In Line for the Order

It seems that the striving for official recognition is not equally distributed. The idea of this kind of stimulation is not strongly present in the average consciousness. This has been indirectly pointed out by an observation of the sociologist Ugljesa Zvekic, who studied the profiles of the classical professions (physicians, lawyers, judges). Zvekic says that these professional categories pay more attention to the recognition on part of their colleagues than to formal recognitions.

However there were answers in our survey of professionals whom we supposed might be dealing with this (almost nobody confirmed our supposition, which is also symptomatic), which say that in some social categories such as veterans, officers, and some groups of pensioners, there are quite a few examples of zeal among pretenders to social recognitions. One such example was recorded in Split. A man refused his decoration unsatisfied with its rank (a possible sanction might be that this man no longer would get any decoration), and then through his "connections" he managed to get a higher rank decoration!

The sociologist Branimir Stojkovic, one of the few people who studied social recognition concretely, compared the process of issuing awards with a court trial. Fundamentally, he says, it is the same process through which society

wants to confirm, that is to preserve or strengthen the basic values on which it is based. In one case it is doing it by negatively sanctioning (punishing) those who jeopardize these values, and in the other by positively sanctioning those who glorify these values, that is, confirm them in an above average way.

Supposing that this parallel is adopted, it would be interesting to go further. The general public has, especially in this time of crisis, demanded more severe penalties for offences. There are a lot fewer examples of public reflection on awards. Is this a dangerous sign that we cherish repressive psychology? This is why it is worth responding to those who just at this time of crisis are raising the question of awards and who want the awards to become more significant.

To the question whether we have many awards, Vita Petkovic from the Serbian SSRN responded that some people think that we have many of them, but that he is among those who think that there are never enough awards.

It is worth, however, to ask the question of whether these awards keep the necessary luster?

12455

CSO: 2800/374

SLOVENE OFFICIAL KMECL DEFENDS CULTURAL LIBERALISM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 84 pp 47-48

[Interview with Dr Matjaz Kmecl, chairman of Slovene Republic Culture Committee, by Bozana Rublek; date and place not specified]

[Text] Language as a moral problem--"In our history we see one of the reasons for the distrust of politics displayed today by the Slovene intellectual. This attitude politics has been retained in the Slovene mentality possibly as an atavism. Consequently, even today, when the political spheres have been conquered, many persons observe these spheres only from a distance."

"I am in favor of any contribution toward diversity of thought and creativity. Only in this way can our culture be developed. What would it be like if everything had been made uniform and standardized? It would be a sterile situation." These are the words of Dr Matjaz Kmecl (1934), chairman of the Republic Culture Committee of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia writer, and regular professor of the history of literature, in the faculty of philosophy of the university in Ljubljana.

[Question] How is this diversity reflected in the cultural life of Slovenia?

[Answer] It is to be seen primarily at the cultural and publicistic level. Different intellectual groups have gathered around individual periodicals. There is the NOVA REVIJA, which acts as a kind of spiritual opposition, as an organ of philosophical and sociological reflection on the world which at the same time criticizes everything that obstructs the intellectual and spiritual freedom of man. What might be termed those of the New Left have rallied around the journal PROBLEMI, the latest issue of which is in its entirety devoted to punk. MLADINA is a journal of sociopolitical criticism. When it deals with topical questions of the present day, it can be even more extreme than the NOVA REVIJA. In addition, there are various groups of long standing in which writers such as Bor, Svetina, and others defining themselves as the most authentic continuation of revolutionary Marxist thought are active.

Of course, we also have some "snipers" such as Zupan and Javorsek who are the product of previous constellations and old differentiation methods.

In this variegated and heterogenous sphere of all possible views and thoughts, however, nothing predominates to such an extent as to impart a critical or exclusive intonation to our spiritual situation. I personally believe, not just by virtue of the function which I perform, that our culture is quite rich, and in the democratic sense more highly developed than at any time in the past.

[Question] What are the political motives which encourage the promotion of this democratic nature of Slovene culture?

[Answer] The broad pluralism which we make possible in our culture is based on the conclusion that there is no point whatever in suppressing different ideas or in maintaining silence on the problems which exist today and putting them off to an indefinite time in the future. Today we are witnesses that in our past there have been all sorts of things concerning which it is not easy to break silence. If I were to make a simplified Freudian interpretation of this situation, I would say that in our society there are traumas which have not yet been "worked out." However, society can undergo forceful political development and organization with these traumas. Many individuals, and even groups, function while bearing the burden of these traumatic situations which society has thrust aside into some collective subconscious and which it tries to suppress and keep secret. In order to overcome this, we should examine all aspects of each problem or conflict, consider the arguments pro and con, and resolve it in timely and open fashion. If we fail to do so, in effect we tacitly pile up these problems for the future, which again will be burdened with old questions.

[Question] In your opinion, what has induced Slovene writers more and more to make social commitments? We know, for example, that last year the Literary Society of Solvenia organized meetings which aroused great interest among the public.

[Answer] The reasons are the same as in other parts of Yugoslavia. That is, people are beginning more and more to ask about social reality, about relationships between people, rather than about man as individual. Clearly, in some places this phenomenon is very pronounced, while in others it is just beginning. This trend is also observed in Europe and throughout the world. Intellectually more ambitious creative persons and their public, in particular, are included in it. They decide vehemently and dramatically, and thus the polarization between the Left and the Right arises. The reason is probably that the whole world is experiencing a crisis; it feels itself to be in increasing danger and moving almost to the brink of a precipice. During this period, when people are restless, when they are struggling for their very existence and their security, when their future is in doubt, it is clear that they will turn to politics and that they can no longer avoid its questions. They are worried either about the existence of their creative

potential or, along with many other questions, about the material possibilities of individual creativity. This is the general situation, which of course has some specific characteristics as well.

In Slovenia these characteristics have been determined by historical tradition in particular. Slovene writers and artists since Trubar, and especially since the 19th century, have always been politically and socially prominent. We did not have our own politicians or our own army, and so the poet was the one who worried about the people and who always took up its cause.

In this history of ours I also see one of the reasons for the distrust which the Slovene intellectual displays toward politics even today. This fate of politics has persisted in the Slovene mentality perhaps as an atavism. Consequently, even today, when the political spheres have been organized, many people observe it only from a distance.

[Question] You have supported certain sensitive actions which have been differently interpreted and even attacked in the other parts of Yugoslavia, as for example, the "linguistic court of arbitration." As you say, you have opposed standardization of Yugoslav school curriculms deriving from collective core programs. How much of this is the result of your personal commitment and how much is a result of the function which you perform?

[Answer] It is first and foremost my personal commitment. I began work in language in the Community Section before I held this position on the Culture Committee. The position was established by the late writer Beno Zupancic when he was deputy chairman of the Republic Conference of the Socialist League. I became chairman of the committee after his death. At the time I gave up my position as dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and had greater opportunity and more time to promote its work. One of the operative forms of action was the "Linguistic Court of Arbitration." It was conceived primarily as an institution of moral appeal, and not as a repressive institution as some tried to impute to us by pamphleteering and political intrigue. I am convinced that the language question is a question of culture, and at the same time a moral question. A person decides for himself if this is of any value to him. He can decide for different forms of culture and language and can work to improve himself, but he is not completed to do so. If he does not want to, he does not have to burden himself with them, since they are not questions vital to existence.

Outside Slovenia little discussion has been devoted to the fundamental questions of the "linguistic court of arbitration" in the press, but there has been an abundance of politically slanted texts. The important thing is that we have concerned ourselves with certain problems of the theory of language that can have a substantial impact on our present and our future. Above all we have asked how we can take political and self-management action if we have an ill-defined, underdeveloped language which permits all sorts of tricks and deceptions. Every day we are witness to depressing situations in which different "expert services" manipulate direct producers precisely

by means of language, since they "explain" things to the producers in words which they don't understand. Many other drastic examples as well have induced us to concern ourselves with monitoring our language. We have tried to devote care to language in education, language in business, language in the newspapers, and so forth.

This interest in language does not derive from the old romantic or pseudo romantic, or even sentimental sources, but arises above all from attitudes toward our present and future life. I reacted to the problem of the collective core curriculums because it is a fundamental question of constitutional importance that is involved. I believe that the problem of these curriculums has been artificially created and blown up. Rather than calmly getting together and sensibly consulting each other and possibly harmonizing our programs, we have created and again imposed another of the fruitless conflicts which needlessly burden our society, our political development, and our relationships. If this problem is not solved properly, that is, in a way satisfactory and acceptable to all, it will continue to be unresolved, and even though it has been artificially created, it will be a latent corrosive and burden in our future. In addition, when I say solved properly I mean that it must be solved in the spirit of the heritage of the struggle for national liberation, which in its movement managed to unite such different traditions of the people and nationalities exactly because it recognized their self-existence, independence, and diversity. If we fail to think and act in this way, we know what happens. We have proof of this.

[Question] You almost identify the cultural questions with the moral. What is the basis of the ethical approach which you advocate?

[Answer] In linking ethics and morality to culture I have no intention of reducing it to mere moralizing or ideologization. Exactly because relationships among people are involved, the right answers can be found only in concrete situations, and that in a minutely developed society. According to its postulates, a self-managing socialist society could solve the problems. However, a unique moral crisis has arisen just because these fundamental prerequisites have not been created. People are declared to have rights, but just the same they feel that there are impediments preventing them from fully realizing their individual and collective rights. Thus distrust arises, and distrust leads to many conflicts. In the area of culture this is manifested in the circumstance that people in different cultural activities understand each other less and less, culture becomes particularized, and the parochial mindset predominates in it. For example, if we see that an important cultural and national monument is falling into ruin, all cultural workers should agree to make some concession and restore the monument. However, everyone is concerned exclusively with his own interests. In this attitude there is a lack of what we might term unified striving for development of society and the nation as a community.

LJUBLJANA ACADEMICIANS DISPUTE KMECL STATEMENTS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 84 p 42

[Article by Dr Andrej Kirm and Dr Leo Seserko, Faculty of Sociology, Political Sciences, and Journalism, Ljubljana: "Public Questions to Matjaz Kmecl"]

[Text] In his interview for DANAS on 22 May 1984, Comrade Matjaz Kmecl, replying to the question of how diversity is manifested in the cultural life of Slovenia, made the following assessment of the social role and importance of NOVA REVIJA:

"It is to be seen primarily at the cultural and publicistic level. Different intellectual groups have gathered around individual periodicals. There is NOVA REVIJA, which acts as a kind of spiritual opposition, as an organ of philosophical and sociological reflection on the world which at the same time criticizes everything that obstructs the intellectual and spiritual freedom of man."

Comrade Kmecl made no mention of the stimulating dialogues which were conducted, for example, in SODOBNOST and TEORIJA I PRAKSA in connection with certain disputed analyses and evaluations in NOVA REVIJA, and greater damage is done because the interview is intended for the readers of DANAS, most of whom probably are not familiar with cultural and ideological developments in Slovenia.

We ask Comrade Matjaz Kmecl how his categorically high rating of the NOVA REVIJA, without qualifications and restrictions, harmonizes with the following attitudes of individuals published in the same periodical:

1. Declaration of our society and cultural policy as a whole to be totalitarian;
2. Declaration of the party to be hopelessly bureaucratized, a party which has opposing it positions which cannot conquer and cannot destroy the party;
3. Intercession for sociopolitical rehabilitation of Bishop Rozman;

4. Glaring instances of disparagement of Marxism, which from time to time is equated with Stalinism and spiritual repression.

We ask Comrade Matjaz Kmccl as chairman of the Culture Committee and as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Slovenia if the attitudes cited represent a critical disposition "toward everything that impedes the intellectual and spiritual freedom of man"?

We appreciate much that has been published and translated in the NOVA REVIJA, but we categorically reject the selected opinions quoted above. Kmccl's rating of the NOVA REVIJA is essentially identical to the rating made by a member of the editorial staff of this periodical, Ivan Urbancic. According to Urbancic, the basic tone of the periodical is "courageous and resolute concrete statement of and testimony to the freedom of a spirit against the existing totalitarian organization of the sphere of culture in Slovenia" (NOVA REVIJA, Nos 19-20).

Does Comrade Kmccl really think that the institution he represents by virtue of his position, and he himself, do not form part of this "existing totalitarian organization of the sphere of culture in Slovenia"? The NOVA REVIJA did not state that the Culture Committee and its chairman are not included in this totalitarian organization. Doesn't this disturb the culture secretary at all? A strange and curious coincidence arises: One of the institutional agents of totalitarian cultural policy, according to the standards of the writer in the NOVA REVIJA, is in close agreement with a critic of this same totalitarian policy. We do not know to whom this will consequently be unpleasant or to whom it will be an honor: The antibureaucratic, antitotalitarian spiritual (only spiritual?) opposition, or the exponents of totalitarian bureaucratic policy and members of the hopelessly bureaucratized party.

After reaching this close spiritual harmony, the critics of totalitarian policy will soon cease to be such and will no longer have and object of criticism. They are currently faced with the following possibilities:

(a) The critics can recognize that our culture and our area as a whole are not altogether hopelessly totalitarian and will make an exception at least for the Secretariat of Culture and its secretary;

(b) They can acknowledge the criticism to be objectively valid. It would necessarily follow from this that the Culture Committee and its chairman would probably renounce the totalitarian policy and announce corresponding democratization of cultural policy. In this case this will be one of the major successes of the liberal campaign of the NOVA REVIJA to remove all obstacles to "human intellectual and spiritual freedoms";

(c) Or the mystery will continue to exist of the curious harmony between exponents of totalitarian cultural policy and the critics of this policy, a mystery which does not bother either of the parties but even encourages their mutual kindness in public.

Does Comrade Matjaz Kmecl, as a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, think that the vanguard position in the struggle for social and individual freedom has been transferred from the self-management system and the League of Communists to the NOVA REVIJA? And if this is actually the case, then the League of Communists, its Central Committee, and its Presidium have much to learn from the NOVA REVIJA. This learning will probably not be an easy one, since in the eyes of individual persons at the NOVA REVIJA the league is the main obstacle to intellectual and spiritual freedom. What is to be done in this difficulty? If the League of Communists wishes to retain its vanguard position in the struggle for freedom, possibly the best thing to do would be to take wisdom from the NOVA REVIJA formula and allow "positions" to be taken. Thus it will more decisively allow to flourish in Slovenia as well that spirit of European freedom with which the NOVA REVIJA so bravely and loudly concerns itself. But this "spirit of freedom," as certain individuals have condescended to reveal in the NOVA REVIJA, has a bad odor about it. We don't know if it is the fault of individual noses, including those of persons on the Central Committee of the League of Communists, for not detecting this odor, or whether the reason is that this strange smell from time to time coincides with the publication of curious and critical texts.

Is Kmecl's apostrophe of the NOVA REVIJA merely an expression of momentary external circumstances, or does it have deeper roots? We esteem and support Kmecl's advocacy of diversity of thought and creativity, but we do not believe that he has cited essential differences in Slovene journalistic life, either as regards the periodicals and individuals which he mentioned or as regards ones that he has overlooked or forgotten. His stressing of the NOVA REVIJA, the New Left PROBLEMA, and the sociopolitical critical attitude of MLADINA befog the real diversity of thought and journalistic creativity. By applying the stigmatization method we find in the NOVA REVIJA we could even assign Comrade Matjaz Kmecl to a self-contained personal union of culture, ideology, and politics, as has happened with a philosopher who performs important sociopolitical functions in Kumrovac and Ljubljana. Does Comrade Matjaz Kmecl really believe that stories of this kind in the NOVA REVIJA do not also say something about him and about anyone who would link science, professionalism, and cultural creativity to sociopolitical commitment on the basis of the programs of the League of Communists?

Because Comrade Matjaz Kmecl is the culture secretary and a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, and because his sociopolitical duties were stressed or mentioned in the interview, we ask if Kmecl's rating of NOVA REVIJA carries any greater social weight for the policy of the organs mentioned. With his replies Comrade Matjaz Kmecl can contribute much toward a clearer and more objective assessment of the social role and policy of NOVA REVIJA, and also toward greater public ideological and practical differentiation of members of the League of Communists. In this way (we) communists will be better recognized in these difficult and reflectively complex times. In this way we will more easily

reconcile ideological and practical differences, or we will have to deepen them even more radically, publicly, and openly.

We have spoken up on behalf of freedom of cultural and scientific creativity. Experience shows that the area of freedom has grown ever narrower to the extent that there has been less readiness for dialogue and theoretical criticism. Undoubtedly these were the motives which also guided Comrade Matjaz Kmecl, but we are sure that this noble goal cannot be reached without qualifications and distinctions.

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END